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Vertue Sculp.

THE
HISTORY
OF
ENGLAND,
AS WELL
Ecclesiastical as Civil.

BY
M^r. DE RAPIN THOYRAS.

VOL. V.

CONTAINING

I. The Reigns of the Three KINGS of the *House*
of *Lancaster*, HENRY IV, HENRY V, and
HENRY VI.

II. A DISSERTATION on the *Maid of Orleans*.

Done into *ENGLISH* from the *FRENCH*, with
large and useful NOTES mark'd with an *, by
N. TINDAL, A. M. Vicar of Great-
Waltham in *Essex*.

*Illustrated with the Heads of the KINGS, curiously en-
graved on Copper-Plates, by Mr. Vertue.*

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THE

HISTORY

OF

AMERICA



BY

JOHN G. BARNES

NEW YORK

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THE
HISTORY of *ENGLAND*.

BOOK XI.

*The Reigns of HENRY IV, and HENRY V.
containing the Space of Twenty-two Years
and Ten-Months.*

SECT. I.

13. HENRY IV, *Sirnamed of
BULLINGBROKE.*



HENRY Duke of *Lancaster*, *sirnamed of
Bullingbroke* the Place of his Birth, hav-
ing been proclaimed the 30th of *Septem-
ber*, took that very Day the Reins of the
Government. As the Parliament then
assembled had been called in *Richard's*
Name, and as their Authority ceased up-

1399.
HENRY
IV. conti-
nues the
same Par-
liament
called by
Richard.

on his being deposed, *Henry's* first Care was to call ano-
ther.

1399. ther. To proceed according to Custom, the *Representatives* must have been chosen anew. But *Henry* did not think fit to run the Risk of having a Parliament less favourable than that which had so heartily espoused his Cause. He was contented, therefore, with empowering the same *Representatives* to make, with the *House of Lords*, a new Parliament under his Authority. I shall not take upon me to decide whether this Proceeding was not somewhat irregular, or whether it was authorised by any former *Precedent*. Be this as it will, after a few Days Interruption, the same Parliament met again on the 6th of *October*, as if it had been called by the new King.

The Earl of March retires to Wigmore.

Mean Time *Edmund Mortimer* Earl of *March*, considering that it would be no less dangerous than fruitless, at such a Juncture, to assert his just Right to the Crown, retired to his Lordship of *Wigmore*, near the Borders of *Wales*. The more incontestable his Claim was, the more Reason he had to dread the new King's Jealousy. So that giving way to the Torrent which he could not stem, he resolved to live in Retirement, without showing the least Signs of Ambition, or the least Uneasiness at the Injustice done him. He had no other way to secure his Quiet, and even his Life, against the Suspicions of a Prince whose Interest it was to destroy him. There was but too great Probability that the new King would lay hold on the first Occasion that offered, to free himself from the Uneasiness which such a Rival might create in him.

The Archbishop harangues the Parliament in Praise of the new King.

The Parliament being assembled, in the manner above mentioned, *Thomas Arundel* Archbishop of *Canterbury* made a long Speech tending to inspire a high Opinion of the Advantages which the late *Revolution* was to procure the Kingdom. He enlarged chiefly on the Irregularities of the late Reign, and assured, that the new Sovereign proposed to govern after a very different manner, and to preserve to All their *Rights* and *Liberties*. This Prelate had been banished the Realm in the late Reign, and *Roger Walden*, who had been appointed in his Room, had acted hitherto as Archbishop. But as *Arundel* had not been canonically deposed, the Parliament in their first Session had ordered

dered that he should resume his Dignity, especially as the other had not yet obtained the Pope's Confirmation, The Archbishop's Speech, and some preliminary Formalities, were the only Things remarkable in the first Session of the new Parliament, which was adjourned to the 14th of October. This Adjournment was necessary in order to prepare for the Coronation, which was to be on the 13th.

During this Interval the King filled several Posts, which were either vacant, or possessed by Persons he did not like. Henry Percy Earl of Northumberland, and Ralph Nevil Earl of Westmoreland had given too great Marks of their Zeal for the King, by joining him at Ravenspur presently after his Landing, not to have a share in his Favours. Henry willing to show his Gratitude, conferred on the First the Office of High Constable, and on the other that of Earl-Marshal. A few Days after he gave a Grant to the Earl of Northumberland of the Isle of Man, situated between Scotland and Ireland, with the Privilege of carrying at the Coronation, the Sword called Lancaster, on the King's left Hand *. This was the same Sword the King had on when he landed at Ravenspur.

The King fills the vacant Posts; rewards the Earl of Northumberland and Westmoreland.
Aft. Pub. VIII. 89, 90, 95.

After Henry had thus requited the Obligations he lay under to these two Lords, whom he looked upon as the firmest Friends to his Interest and Person, he made Thomas of Lancaster his second Son High-Steward. It was absolutely necessary to fill this Post before the Coronation, because to the High-Steward's Court all must apply who have any Service to do in that Ceremony, in order to be maintained in their Rights. But as the Prince was but ten Years old, the King gave him for Deputy Thomas Percy Earl of Worcester, Brother to the Earl of Northumberland.

Thomas his second Son made High-Steward.
ibid.

On the 13th of October, Edward the Confessor's Day, Henry was crowned with all the usual Formalities, being then thirty three Years of Age. He was anointed with a certain Oil which was pretended to be brought by the Blessed Virgin to St. Thomas of Canterbury whilst he was in France. The Vial which held this precious Oil was fallen

The King is crowned and anointed with an extraordinary Oil.

* He was to hold the Isle of Man by that Office.

1399. into the Hands of an *Hermite* who presented it to *Henry* Duke of *Lancaster* Grandson of *Henry* III, with this Prophecy, *That the Kings which should be anointed with that sacred Oil, should be true Champions of the Church.* The Duke of *Lancaster* gave it afterwards to the famous Prince of *Wales*, Son of *Edward* III, who was resolved to be anointed with it when he should be crowned. After the Death of that Prince, the *Vial* which was of Stone, having on the Top a *Gold-Eagle* set with Diamonds, was laid up among the Jewels without any one's minding it. *Richard* II his Son having found it some time before his last Voyage to *Ireland*, designed to be crowned again on purpose to be anointed with the Holy Oil in the *Vial*. But the Archbishop of *Canterbury* opposed it, by representing to him that the *Unction* of Kings ought not to be repeated. At length the *Vial* was come to the Hands of *Henry*, who either out of Devotion, or because it came from the Duke of *Lancaster* his Grandfather by the Mother's Side, was pleased to be anointed with it at his Coronation. But if we examine the Reigns of that Prince, and of several of his Successors who were anointed with the same Oil, we shall not find that the good *Hermite's* Prophecy was ever accomplished.

Henry re-
fuses to
own he
holds the
Crown of
the People.

I have already remarked, in the Reign of *Richard* II, that when, after the deposing of that Prince, *Henry* claimed the Crown, he affected to make use of obscure Expressions. His Aim was to make the People believe, that there was some Foundation in the Right he pretended to derive from the old *House of Lancaster*, of which he was Heir by his Mother. But this Pretext, which might then have some Effect upon such as were willing to shut their Eyes, was too gross to deceive any longer. It was therefore necessary for the new King to find out some plausible Title which might justify the Nation's Choice of him. There was none more lawful than the Service he had lately done the *State*. But he judged it dangerous to build his Right upon such a Foundation. When the Business was to receive the Crown, he was very willing to own the Parliament's Power to confer it on him. But when once it was placed

1399.

placed on his Head, he was afraid that from that Principle it would be inferred, that they who had given him the Crown, had Power to take it away. So that he was on this Occasion at a great Loss. It was requisite that the People should be satisfied that the Parliament had lawfully deposed *Richard*, and that their Authority was superiour to the King's. On the other Hand, there was a Necessity of letting them know, that in placing *Henry* on the Throne, the very same Parliament had not acted by way of Authority, and that they could not dispense with owning him for King. In a Word, there was occasion to acknowledge in the Parliament an unlimited Power with respect to *Richard's* Deposing, and to decline their Authority in the late Election. These two Things seemed inconsistent. But when a Man has Power on his Side, he does not trouble himself so much about finding good Reasons, as about blinding the Eyes of the Publick with Appearances. *Henry*, perswaded that at this Juncture, no one would have the Boldness to contradict him, resolved to let his Subjects know that he did not intend to derive his Right from their bare Consent. On his Coronation-Day he published a *Proclamation*, declaring that he had mounted the Throne, *First*, By Right of Conquest: *Secondly*, By Virtue of *Richard's* Resignation to him, and his having appointed him for his Successor: *Lastly*, as he was the next Male-Heir of the late King. By this means he excluded the only lawful Title he had, namely, the general Consent of the People, in order to build his Claim upon three Foundations, the Weakness of which was visible to all. In the first Place, how could he pretend to a Right of Conquest? He entered the Kingdom but with fourscore Men, who in all Appearance were for the most Part *Engliss*. Besides his having so good Success was entirely owing to the Concurrency of all *England*, and consequently he could not say he had conquered the Kingdom. In the next Place. it was not true that *Richard* had resigned the Crown to him. We took notice in the Reign of that Prince, that *Henry* himself as well as his Friends did not think it proper. He was only obliged to make an *absolute* Resignation, least it should

*The King's
Proclamation to
show his
Title to the
Crown.*

appear

1399.

appear too much constrained, in Case he did it in favour of a Prince to whom he was then actually a Prisoner. Moreover, supposing *Richard* had appointed *Henry* for his Successor, how could a King, deposed on the Score of Tyranny and Inability, be allowed a Right to chuse the Person who should succeed him, especially as the Nomination was contrary to the Laws of the Land. Lastly, It was still less true that *Henry* was the next Heir of *Richard*, unless the *Salick-Law* had taken Place in *England* as well as in *France*, and the Descendants of the Women were debarred the Succession. It is true indeed, that in the third Title alledged by the King, there was a Sort of *Equivocation* capable of deceiving. He was Cousin-German of the late King, and consequently a nearer Relation than the Earl of *March*, who was one Degree farther removed. But it did not follow by any means that he was the next Heir, since with respect to the Succession, it was to the *lineal Descent* that Regard was to be had, and not to the nearest of Kin. Thus after the Death of *Edward III* it was *Richard* his Grandson that succeeded him, though he was one Degree farther removed than his Uncles. Again, supposing that this Rule had not been inviolably kept to, *Henry* could not say he was the nearest Relation of *Richard*. He was *first Cousin*: But the Duke of *York* who was *Uncle*, had no less Right than he. So that on which side soever they viewed the pretended Title of *Henry*, it could not but appear ill-grounded. The only Claim he could have produced with any Colour, was the Consent of the People. But he would not make use of that for the Reasons above-mentioned.

Act. Pub.
VIII. 91.

The same Day the King issued his *Proclamation*, he created *Henry* his eldest Son, aged thirteen Years, *Duke of Cornwall*, *Prince of Wales*, and *Earl of Chester*. But he added not to these Titles that of *Duke of Aquitain*, as some pretend.

The Par-
liament
meets.

The Solemnity of the Coronation being over, the Parliament met next Day being the 14th of *October*. The Importance of the *Acts* which were passed this *Session*, obliges me to give a particular Account of them, it being absolutely necessary for the Sequel of this History.

In

In the first Place, was passed an *Act of Indemnity*, to screen those who during the late Troubles had taken up Arms in Defence of the King, then Duke of Lancaster. This *Act* was absolutely necessary, since the Laws condemned without Distinction those that opposed the Government established, which was precisely the Case of such as had assisted the King, and of the King himself.

1399.
*Acts of
Parliament.*

After this *Act* was passed, the Parliament examined whatever had been done in the late Reign, to stretch the *Prerogative-Royal* beyond its due Bounds. They applied themselves chiefly to the Proceedings of the Parliament begun at Westminster in 1397, and continued on at Shrewsbury in 1398. Whatever the Parliament had done, as well with regard to the three Lords unjustly condemned, as to the exorbitant Privileges granted to the King, being so manifestly destructive of the Nation's Liberties, was unanimously repealed. At the same Time were revived and confirmed the *Statutes* of the Parliament of 1388, which the Shrewsbury Parliament had annulled. It was thought likewise absolutely necessary to pass a particular *Act* against the Pope's Bull, which ratified the *Statutes* of Shrewsbury. This Bull, whereby Richard II pretended to give the greater Force to the *Acts of his Parliament*, was founded on a Principle too opposite to the Rights of the People to be suffered to subsist. And indeed the Pope's Power to confirm *Acts of Parliament* could not be acknowledged, without ascribing to him a Right of *Sovereignty* upon England. For this Reason the Parliament declared in the *Act*, that the Kingdom of England was independent of all Foreign Powers, particularly of the Court of Rome, and that the Pope had no Right to interpose in the Civil Government of the Realm.

The Parliament examines the Proceedings of the former one.

The Shrewsbury Parliament having designed to extend the *Royal Authority* as much as possible, had in such a manner multiplied the Cases of *High-Treason*, that none, but such as acknowledged in the Sovereign an unlimited Power, could possibly avoid incurring the Guilt of Treason. To redress so dangerous a *Grievance*, which tended to the making the King absolute Master of the Lives and Fortunes of his Subjects, the Parliament revived a *Statute*, made to that Purpose

Purpose

Purpose in the Reign of *Edward III*, and confined *treasonable* Offences to the Articles mentioned in that *Act*.

Richard's
Advisers
and Fa-
vourites
are in-
quired af-
ter.

After the *Rights* and *Priviledges* of the People were, by these *Acts*, put upon the same Foot they stood before the Incroachments of *Richard*, the Authors and Advisers of these Usurpations were inquired after. When King *Richard* apprehended the Duke of *Gloucester*, and the Earl of *Warwick* and *Arundel*, he was not invested with that absolute Power, which the *Shrewsbury* Parliament so liberally conferred upon him afterwards : So that he saw himself obliged to proceed according to Law, in order to get these three Lords condemned. To that End he ordered it so that *John Holland* Earl of *Huntington*, his Half-Brother; *Thomas Holland* Earl of *Kent*, his Nephew; *Edward* Earl of *Albemarle*, his Cousin, Son of the Duke of *York*; *John Beaufort* Earl of *Sommerfet*, Son of the Duke of *Lancaster* by his third Wife; and the Lord *Thomas Spencer* were the Accusers of the three imprisoned Lords. The Earl of *Salisbury*, and the Lord *Morley*, were reported to be the chief Contrivers of this Plot. After Condemnation, *Richard* distributed the Estates of the three Lords among the Managers and Evidences. Moreover, he made the Earl of *Albemarle* a Duke; and conferred the Title of Duke of *Exeter* on the Earl of *Huntington*; of Duke of *Surrey* on the Earl of *Kent*; of Duke of *Sommerfet* on the Earl of *Sommerfet*; of Earl of *Gloucester* on *Thomas Spencer*.

As it was publicly known that the three Lords had been unjustly oppressed by the late King, the Parliament thought it necessary to punish the Authors and Instruments of their Ruin. To that Purpose, after having reversed the Sentence against the Earls of *Arundel* and *Warwick* as directly contrary to the *Pardon* which had been granted them, it was resolved that the Managers should be deprived both of their Titles and of the Estates distributed among them. As to their own Lands, it was left to the King either to continue them in Possession, or to turn them out as he thought fit. *Henry*, willing to show his Clemency in the Beginning of his Reign, not only left them their Estates,

Estates, but likewise restored them to the *Honours* they had been deprived of. Moreover, he made the Duke of *Exeter*, his Half-Brother, Governour of *Calais*. The Earl of *Salisbury* and the Lord *Morley*, the hated Ministers of *Richard*, and principal Authors of the Oppression practised upon the Duke of *Gloucester* and the other two Lords, came off with a short Imprisonment, though the People loudly called for their Deaths. As the Friends of these Lords had alledged in their Excuse, that *Richard* had compelled them to act, the Parliament took occasion from thence to pass an *Act*, whereby it was declar'd, That for the future, *Compulsion* should be no legal Excuse to justify Actions contrary to Law.

1399.

This Affair being over, the Parliament prevailed with the King to grant a *general Pardon*, in which however were excepted the Murderers of the Duke of *Gloucester*. One of the Villains being apprehended and convicted was hanged at *London*, and his Head sent to *Calais*, to be fixt on one of the Gates.

General Pardon.

Though the Injustice done to the Earl of *March* was manifest, yet it might in some measure be varnished over with the Pretence of rewarding *Henry* for the signal Service he had done the *State*. If this Reward had been limited to his Person, perhaps it would not have seemed very strange, that in so extraordinary a Case the *Laws* should be superseded in favour of a Prince who had so freely exposed himself for the sake of the Publick. But at such Junctures, it is very difficult to keep within the Bounds of Equity. The Parliament not content with having given to *Henry* the Crown taken from *Richard*, would moreover secure it to his Issue. To that End an Act was passed, settling the Succession on the House of *Lancaster*: First on the Person of the Prince of *Wales*, the King's eldest Son and his Heirs, then on his three Brothers and their Issue.

The Succession settled on the House of Lancaster.

A very important Affair still remained, about which the King was desirous to advise with his Parliament before the Houses broke up. The *Commons*, not satisfied with the bare deposing of *Richard*, after a very irregular Manner, would have him tried in Form, and had petitioned

The King asks the Parliament what is to be done with Richard.

1399. the King to that Effect. It was therefore, to know what was to be done with *Richard*, that the King wanted to have the Advice of the two *Houses*. The Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who was commissioned in this Affair, having first exacted an Oath of Secrecy from all the *Members*, proposed the Question to them. It may well be thought that *Richard* had not many Friends in the *House*, and that if Any approved not of the Proceedings against him, they had not courage enough to venture to speak in his Defence. There was one however bold enough to say publicly what others only thought. This was *Thomas Merks* Bishop of *Carlisle*, who without regarding the Motives which might induce him, as well as the rest of *Richard's* Friends, to keep Silence, made a long Speech on this Subject; wherein he alledged every Thing that could with any Plausibleness be said in Behalf of the King deposed, and against the King on the Throne.

The Bishop
of Carlisle's
speech in
Defence of
Richard.

The Bishop undertook to prove three Things. First, That there was no Authority which could lawfully depose a King of *England*. Secondly, That the Offences *Richard* was accused of, deserved not that he should be deposed, and besides, they were not proved. Thirdly, That the Crown had been unjustly adjudged to the Duke of *Lancaster*.

He enlarged very much on the first Head, showing the wide Difference between the several Kinds of Government established in the World. He confessed that in Some the Prince or Head might be deposed, because the supreme Authority was not lodged in his Person, but the *People* or *Nobles* had a Share in it. Of this Sort he reckoned the *Republicks*, the antient Government of *Rome*, the Empire of *Germany*, the Kingdoms of *Sweedland* and *Denmark*, the Earldom of *Flanders*, and some other *States*. But he maintained, that it was otherwise in the Governments where the *supreme Authority* was in the single Person of the Sovereign. In this *Class* he ranked the Kingdom of *Israel* among the *Antients*, with the three first Empires; and among the *Moderns*, *England*, *France*, *Spain*, *Scotland*, *Muscovy*, *Turky*, *Persia*, and in general all the Kingdoms of

of *Asia* and *Africa*. With regard to these he alledged, that though the Vices of a Sovereign should be not only detrimental, but even intolerable to his Subjects, he could not be lawfully deposed by any Means whatever : That *Force* could not be made use of, without incurring the Crime of *Rebellion* and *Treason*, and much less *Authority*, since there was not in the *State* any lawful Authority but what was derived from him. He produced upon this Head, Arguments and Precedents from the *Holy Scriptures* and *Profane Authors*, which cannot be repeated without running out to too great a length.

Upon the second Article, he boldly asserted, That the Crimes for which *Richard* was deposed, were either false or aggravated : That indeed, he might be guilty of some Errours or Omissions, but his Faults could not be stiled *Tyranny* : That if those he had committed afforded a just Occasion to depose him, we should see in the World nothing but *Sovereigns* treated as *Tyrants*, and deposed by their Subjects : That the levying a *Subsidy*, the condemning a *Rebel*, in a Word, whatever was not to the good liking of the People, would furnish a Handle to dethrone the most lawful Prince. He passed over the more slightly the Proofs of this second Head, as the Parliament it self seemed to have called in question the Truth of the Crimes alledged against *Richard*, seeing there had been no Step taken to prove them in a legal Manner. By the way, it is very likely that it was for fear of this Reproach, that the *Commons* wanted to proceed against the deposed King in Form. Upon the Third Article the Bishop maintained, that even supposing *Richard* guilty, and granting the Nation had Authority to depose him, there was not the least Colour of Justice to give the Crown to the Duke of *Lancaster*. That if the Duke was the true Heir of *Richard*, as he pretended, he must wait his Death before he claimed the Inheritance. But that no body was ignorant, there was a nearer Heir, whose Father had been declared *Successor* of *Richard* by Act of Parliament. As for *Henry's* pretended Right from *Edmund Crouchback* Son of *Henry III.* the Bishop disdained to consider it, affirming he was very certain that People of

1399. Sense were ashamed of a Right built upon so slender a Foundation.

After this the Orator went on to examine the other two *Titles* contained in the King's *Proclamation*, namely, *Conquest*, and *Richard's Resignation*. To the first he said, That a Subject could never pretend to a *Right of Conquest* against his Sovereign, since the Victory it self was high and heinous Treason. As for the *Resignation*, he said it was not only extorted by Force, but that supposing it voluntary, it could be of no Validity: That in the State *Richard* was then in, it was not in his Power to make a *valid Act*: That besides, the Laws not allowing the King the Liberty of alienating the Jewels of the Crown, much more tied him up doubtless from giving away the Crown it self (a). Then he spake of the general Consent of the People, though *Henry* had not thought proper to insist upon it; that the Kingdom of *England* having never been *Elective*, it was ridiculous to ascribe to the People the Power of disposing of the Crown. Lastly, he replied to the Objection which might be urged from the deposing of *Edward II*, That wise Men must be guided by *Law*, and not by *Examples* and *Precedents*: That however the Example of *Edward II* would be of no more Force than that of a Prince poisoned or assassinated by his Subjects: But that even in deposing of *Edward II*, Care was taken to preserve the Rights of the lawful Successor.

What the Bishop had hitherto said, might pass for Reasons to question whether *Richard II* could be lawfully deposed. At most, it might be considered as the private Opinion of the Speaker. But towards the Close of his Speech, he launched out strangely against *Henry*, and fell into a Passion, which took off very much from the Reasons he had alledged. He said, that it was to be feared that the People of *England* would soon find themselves in the Case of *Aesop's Frogs*; and boldly added, that as long as *Richard* was alive, the *English* could not with Justice own any Sovereign but him. In fine, he maintained that the Per-

son

(a) If a King is subject to the *Law*, with regard to the Alienation of the *Crown Jewels*, why not in other Respects?

son whom they called King, had committed much more heinous Crimes than those for which *Richard* was deposed: That he had entered the Kingdom again contrary to his Oath, after having been banished, and without being legally recalled: That not content with disturbing the Quiet of the Land by an unjust and impious Insurrection against his Sovereign, he had moreover dispossessed him: That he had also demanded Judgment against him, without offering to prove the Impeachment, or permitting the Party accused to make his Defence, contrary to the express Laws of the Realm. He concluded with saying, That if the Wrong done *Richard* was not capable of moving the Hearts of the *English*, at least their common and manifest Dangers ought to stop the Course of these violent Proceedings.

This Speech had not the Effect the Speaker expected. It was so unseasonable, that supposing the *Majority* had been of his Mind, it was impossible to go from what had been done. But the greatest Part of the *Members* persisted in the same Maxims they had followed when *Richard* was deposed. So the Bishop reaped no other Fruit from his Harangue, than to be confined in the Abby of *St. Albans*, from whence however he was shortly after released without any farther Punishment.

The Bishop of *Carlisle*'s Opinion having been unanimously rejected, the Parliament came, with regard to *Richard*, to a Resolution so very extraordinary, that there is some Reason to suspect that History is defective in this Place. However, all the Historians agree, that it was resolved *Richard* should be kept in Confinement during Life, and maintained like a great Prince: but in case any Attempts were made for his Deliverance, *Richard* himself should be put to Death the first. If this be true, it cannot be denied that he was really condemned to die, seeing his Life was not granted him, but on a Condition which was not in his Power. Besides. such a Condition cannot be annexed to the Sentence of a Criminal, but on Supposition that he is already condemned.

The Bishop imprisoned.

Extraordinary Sentence passed upon Richard.

1399.
Remarks
on the Sen-
tence.

'Tis not my Business to determine to what Point the Authority of the Parliament may be extended with respect to the King's Person. I shall only observe, that this is the second Instance of the Deposing a King of *England* without hearing his Defence, or so much as observing the usual *Formalities* prescribed by the *Law* in the Trial of the meanest Subject. The Parliament which deposed *Edward II*, was satisfied with decreeing that he should be kept in safe Custody during Life. But this Parliament to *Richard's* Deposing adds the Sentence of Death: for no otherwise can we consider the Condition upon which his Life is granted him. Let us farther remark, that one of the chief Articles of Impeachment against that Prince, was his putting to Death the Duke of *Gloucester* his Uncle, without a previous Trial. And yet this same Parliament condemns him unheard, upon his bare Confession, when a Prisoner; *not that he was guilty of the particular Crimes laid to his Charge, but, that he was unworthy to wear the Crown.* They are not content with stripping him of his Royalty, but order that he shall be imprisoned for Life. What do I say? They really condemn him to die, since in seeming to grant him his Life, they add a Condition which in all likelihood would quickly make him lose it. If in perusing the Reign of *Richard II*, a Man cannot help detesting the Principles of the *Shrewsbury* Parliament, which tended to make the Lives, Honours and Fortunes of the Subjects depend on the King's Will, what ought he to think of this here? By the contrary Extreme, they put the Life and Honour of the King himself in the Hands of his Subjects, and refuse the Sovereign a Privilege, which there is not an *English* Subject but what has a just Right to demand. The Examples which these two Parliaments have afforded, are a clear Evidence that the *English Constitution* can never pretend to that Degree of Perfection which some would fain ascribe to it, till the Bounds of the *Prerogative Royal*, and of the *Privileges of the Parliament* are precisely marked out.

Whilst the *Two Houses* acted in Concert and with equal Ardour, for the Interest of the Prince they had placed on the Throne, the *Convocation* was sitting in St. Paul's Church. As the King rightly judged, that in order to support himself in the Throne, it was absolutely necessary to make the Clergy his Friends, he sent to them the Earls of *Northumberland* and *Westmoreland*, to assure them of his Protection. The Earls being admitted into the Assembly, said, they were come from the King, not to demand Money, as was customary in the late Reign, but to acquaint the Clergy of the King's Resolution to maintain them in their *Privileges* and *Immunities*. They added, they had Orders to assure the *Convocation* that the King was ready to join with them in whatever Means should be judged proper to extirpate *Heresy*, and punish obstinate *Hereticks*. They concluded, with desiring the Clergy to put up their Prayers to Heaven for the Welfare of the King and Kingdom. Nothing was more capable of gaining the Hearts of the *Ecclesiasticks*, than what the King promised them with regard to *Heresy*. The Number of the *Lollards* which daily increased, gave the Clergy just Room to fear, that in the End a *Reformation* might be set on foot, which could not but be very detrimental to their *Temporal* Interests. Accordingly, the Assurances the King gave the *Convocation* were received with great Satisfaction and Thankfulness.

1399.

The King assures the Clergy of his Protection.

He promises to extirpate Heresy.

Some Days after the Parliament having finished the principal Affairs to the King's Satisfaction, and in appearance to the good liking of the whole Kingdom, was dissolved according to Custom. *Prorogations* were not then so frequent as they have been since.

The Parliament dissolved.

During the whole *Sessions*, Henry had not much minded foreign Affairs. *Domestick* Matters seemed to him of greater Moment, since the Business was to settle a *Revolution* which had procured him the Crown. As soon as he found himself at Leisure from these first Concerns, he thought of Means to justify to the other Sovereigns, the Alterations which had lately been made in *England*. The Deposing a King being a Thing hateful in its self, and which seemed to affect all Princes, it was no easy Task to persuade

Ambassadors sent to divers Courts.

1399.

*Proposals
to the
Court of
France.
Act Pub.
VIII. 108*

*Disposition
of the
other
Courts.*

*The Gascons ready
to revolt.*

persuade them that a Nation should have sufficient Reason to make use of so violent a Remedy to free themselves from Tyranny. Upon this Account, *Henry* dispatched Ambassadors to all the principal Courts of *Europe*, to endeavour to put a good Face on the deposing of *Richard* and his own Promotion. He was chiefly concerned to keep fair with the Court of *France*, as the only one whose Resentment he had Reason to dread. He was not ignorant that *Charles VI* had formed a Design to revenge the Injury done his Son-in-law, and that his Distemper, into which he relapsed upon hearing the News, had hindered him from instantly breaking the Truce of 28 Years, which he had made with *England*. *Henry* pitched upon, for Ambassadors, the Bishop of *Durham*, and Earl of *Worcester*, who had Instructions to propose a perpetual League and Alliance between the two Crowns. Moreover, he ordered them to make Overtures for a double Marriage. The first which he had projected, was between *Henry* his eldest Son and one of the *French King's* Daughters, or of some one of his Uncles: The Second between his own Daughter and one of the same King's Sons, or of some one of his nearest Relations. The Ambassadors met with a cold Reception in *France*; but as they had Orders not to obstruct their Negotiation on the Score of Ceremony, they waited with Patience till the first Heat of the *French* was over.

As for the rest of the Courts of *Europe*, *Henry* had no occasion to proceed so circumspectly. The Emperor *Winceslaus* who was still alive, was a Prince that had stupified himself with Drinking, and who like the other *German* Princes little regarded what passed in *England*. As for the Kings of *Castile* and *Portugal*, they were rather Gainers than Loosers by the *Revolution*, which had advanced their Brother-in-law to the Throne. So that they readily approved of it, or at least seemed to do so.

But another Affair of greater Importance created the new King a deal of Uneasiness. *Guienne* was upon the Point of revolting. Already the *Gascons* publicly talked of putting themselves under the Dominion of *France*. It was the City of *Bordeaux*, *Richard's* Birth-Place, that stirred up the

1399.

the whole Province, out of Affection for that unhappy Prince, whole Misfortunes they lamented. On the other Side, the Court of *France*, watchful to take the Advantage of these Dispositions, had sent the Duke of *Bourbon* into *Guienne*, to foment these Discontents. The famous *Robert Knolls*, Governour of that Province, who was no less to be commended for his Prudence than for his Valour, had a hard Task to curb the rebellious Spirit which had seized the *Gascons*. And perhaps he would never have compassed it, had he not been speedily assisted by the Earl of *Worcester*, who being on an Embassy at *Paris*, flew to his Aid. The Moderation and prudent Conduct of these two Lords, brought about what Force would hardly have accomplished, and at length they had the Satisfaction of seeing the Commotions appeased.

*They are
appeased.*

Henry had also upon his Hands another Affair which gave him no less Disturbance. As he was very sensible, that amidst all the Acclamations he was flattered with, it could not be but that the late *Revolution* had bred many *Malcontents*, it was his Interest to keep Peace with his Neighbours. This therefore was what he had purposed to do, least a Foreign War employing his Forces Abroad, he should be left unprovided in Case any sudden Insurrection should happen at Home. Besides, a War would have obliged him to demand Succours of the Parliament, which he was willing to avoid, till his Government was better established. These Considerations made him extremely sorry to hear that the *Scots* had broke the Truce, and taken *Werk-Castle*. He thought best, however, to take no notice of this Insult, till it should be more in his Power to revenge it. But least his doing so should give the King of *Scotland* Encouragement to go on, he sent Embassadors to him to demand Satisfaction for this Outrage. However, as the *Scots* complained likewise, on their Side, of some Breach on the Part of the *English*, he made use of this Pretext to demand that the Truce might be confirmed by mutually repairing the Damages the two Nations had done one another. When *Robert* broke the Truce, he imagined *France* would take his Part, and that the deposing of *Richard* would stir up in *England*

*The Scots
take Werk-
Castle.*

*Embassy
to Scot-
land.
Act. Pub.
VIII. 113.*

1399.
A Negotiation.

Commotions, of which he designed to take the Advantage. But having found that *France* lay still, and that there was not the least Prospect of Troubles in *England*, he did not think fit to push his Enterprize any further. So that without much Sollicitation, he agreed to a Negotiation between *Henry* and Him.

Henry tries to gain the People's Affections.

Matters being thus in a fair way Abroad, *Henry* chiefly applied himself to what might contribute to the supporting him in the Throne. Two Things were absolutely necessary to that End. First, to preserve the Good-Will which the People had hitherto expressed for him. Secondly, to guard *Richard* so strictly that it should be impossible for him to make his Escape. As to the First, he affected to make himself popular, by showing upon all Occasions his Detestation of the Tyrannical Government of his Predecessor, and his having more at Heart the People's Interest than his own. With this View it was, that he ordered all the *Blank-Notes*, which *Richard* had extorted from the Inhabitants of *London*, and of the seventeen condemned Counties, to be brought into *Chancery* and publicly burnt. These *Blank-Bonds* which were called *Ragmans*, had been filled up, not only with the Sums *Richard* had been pleased to exact from such as had signed them, but moreover with an Obligation to observe, under certain Penalties, the Statutes of *Shrewsbury* and whatever had been done by Virtue of them. In burning these Bonds, *Henry's* Intent was to insinuate to the People that he designed not to take the Advantage of these extorted Engagements, much less to practise the like Methods to fill his Coffers.

He burns the Bonds Richard had extorted.

Richard is shut up in Pontfract-Castle.

As for the deposed King, he did not think proper to keep him any longer in the *Tower of London*, for fear it should stir up Compassion in the Hearts of the Citizens, but ordered him to be conducted to the Castle of *Leam* in the County of *Kent*. Some Time after, fearing still that *Richard's* being so nigh *London* would give too frequent Occasion to talk of him, he caused him to be shut up in *Pontfract-Castle* in the *North*.

Death of the Duke of Bretagne.

This Year in *November*, *John the Valiant*, Duke of *Bretagne*, departed this Life in his Capital City. His first

Will

Wife was Daughter of *Edward III*, by whom he had no Issue. By his second, *Joan of Navarre*, he left two Sons, of whom *John* the eldest succeeded him, under the Guardianship of the Duke of *Burgundy* and *Oliver de Clifton*.

In this manner passed the three first Months of the Reign of *Henry*, in a deceitful Calm, which was followed by violent Storms. It was necessary to enlarge a little on the first Events of this Reign, because they serve for Foundation to all the rest.

The Year 1400 began with a Conspiracy against the King, from which he was not delivered but by a sort of Miracle. Historians somewhat differ about the first Author of this Plot, which was commonly ascribed to the Abbot of *Westminster*. However it is more likely, that the Abbot was only the Agent of the Lords Conspirators, and lent them his House to meet in. Perhaps he was made use of to sound the Inclinations of several Persons, according as he was directed by such as were more powerful than himself. Be this as it will, it is agreed that his House was the Place where the Plot was formed, in which were principally concerned, the Dukes of *Albemarle*, *Surrey* and *Exeter*, the Earls of *Glocester* and *Salisbury*, the Bishop of *Carlisle*, and Sir *Thomas Blunt*. All these Lords had been in great Favour with *Richard II*, and they were the same Persons to whom the King had left their *Honours* and *Estates* taken from them by the Parliament. Among these Conspirators, *John Holland* Duke of *Exeter* was his Half-Brother, and *Edward de Langley* Duke of *Albemarle* his First-Cousin. Notwithstanding these Ties of Blood, and the Favours they had all received from the King, they resolved to assassinate him and restore *Richard* to the Throne. The Affection this unfortunate Prince had shown them, the Desire of revenging the Disgrace they had lately suffered, and of which they looked upon the King as the principal Author, and perhaps the Fear that the Pardon which had been granted them, was not sincere, concurred to inspire them with this furious Resolution. They had drawn into the Plot one *Maudlin* a Domestick of *Richard's*, who resembled his Master so exactly that many might be de-

1400.
Conspiracy
against the
King.

Chief Con-
spirators.

They set up
a Preten-
der for
Richard.

1400.

ceived. The Result of their Debates was, that the Duke of *Exeter* and *John Montacute* Earl of *Salisbury* should pretend to challenge one another at a *Tournament* to be held at *Oxford*, and should desire the King to Honour the *Tournament* with his Presence, and that, whilst he should be intent upon the Sight, an Opportunity should be taken to murder him. To the End each Man might know what *Part* he was to act in this *Tragedy*, they took Care to set down all Particulars in Writing. Then they transcribed six Copies signed with their Names, and sealed with their Seals, of which each of the principal Parties took one. Pursuant to their Plot, the Duke of *Exeter* waited upon the King at *Windso*, and made him the Request agreed upon. The King not mistrusting a Half-Brother, to whom he had just given such signal Marks of his Favour and Good-Will, promised to be at *Oxford* on the Day appointed. Thus the Conspirators, pleased with this first Success of their Undertaking went and prepared for the putting it in Execution.

The Con-
spiracy is
discovered.

Under Colour of the Pomp and Magnificence usual upon such Occasions, the Lords Conspirators came to *Oxford* with a numerous Train of armed Domesticks, and Abundance of other Attendants, who made as if they were come purely out of Curiosity. The Duke of *Albemarle* was the only Person that failed to be at the Rendezvous. He had a Mind first to visit the Duke of *York* his Father, then at his Seat at *Langley*, not to communicate the Plot to him, but about some other Business he had with him. Whilst they were at Dinner, the Duke of *York* seeing a Paper in his Son's Bosom, asked him what it was. The Son confounded at this unexpected Question, replied but with a visible Concern, that the Paper contained nothing of Moment. But whether the old Duke had received some Hints of the Conspiracy, or whether his Son's Confusion inspired him with Curiosity, he snatched it out of his Bosom. This Paper was one of the six Copies which the Conspirators had signed. His Surprise was exceeding great at seeing all the Particulars of the Plot. He reproached his Son with it the more justly, as, beside the Blackness of the Crime, he had not scrupled to expose

the Life of his own Father, who was Security for his good Behaviour. But his Reproaches being incapable of remedying the Evil, he resolved to prevent it by acquainting the King with what was come to his Knowledge. To that end, he ordered his Horses to be saddled immediately, with Design to go himself to *Windſor* and carry the Paper to the King. The young Duke knowing he should be undone past Redemption, if the King was informed of the Conspiracy by any but himself, resolved to be before-hand with his Father. As he was better able than the old Duke to undergo the Fatigue of Riding, he took a By-Road and came full speed to *Windſor*. Upon his Arrival he cast himself at the King's Feet, and discovered to him the whole Plot. *Henry* was so far from imagining, that the Duke of *Exeter* and the rest of the Conspirators, had conspired to take away his Life, that he believed at first that the Duke of *Albemarle* had invented the whole Matter on Purpose to ruin them. He told him if the Thing was true, he very readily pardoned him upon his being sorry for it; but in Case it was a malicious Accusation, he should find no Favour. The Duke of *York* coming very soon after, put him out of all doubt, by giving him the Paper he had taken from his Son. After so convincing a Proof, the King being no longer able to question the Truth, broke off his Journey to *Oxford*, where he was to be next Day. Mean while he resolved to stay at *Windſor*, to see what Course the Conspirators would take when they should perceive they had missed their Aim.

All this while, the Lords were extremely uneasy at *Oxford* about the Duke of *Albemarle's* not being yet come. They had already sent to his House to know the Reason of his Stay; and Word was sent back that he was set out for *Oxford*, but was gone by the Way of *Langley* with design to visit the Duke his Father. This Visit having begun to give them some Suspicion, their Trouble increased upon hearing that the King designed not to come to *Oxford*, and had seen the Dukes of *York* and *Albemarle*. Then, no longer doubting that they were discovered, they resolved to accomplish by Force, what they had

*The Con-
spirators
in Per-
plexity.*

1400.
They re-
solve to
take up
Arms, and
give out
Richard
was with
them.
The People
flock to the
pretended
King.

had not been able to do by other means. Accordingly they dressed up *Maudlin* in Royal Robes, and gave out that he was *Richard*, who having made his Escape out of Prison, was come to implore the Assistance of his good Subjects.

The Readiness wherewith the People ran to lift under the Banner of the pretended King, plainly showed that all had not approved of the deposing of *Richard*, though the Parliament acted in the Name of the whole Nation. Wherefore, there is nothing we may be more easily mistaken in, than in judging of the Sentiments of the People, by those of their *Representatives*. The Reason is, because the *Representatives* debating upon Matters laid before them, without having any Instructions from those they represent, their *Resolves* can only be considered as *Private Opinions*, though they have the Force to bind the People. Upon this Account it is, that the People sometimes *appeal* to Arms from the Decisions of Parliaments, when they are thought too prejudicial to the Welfare of the Nation. Of this we have many Instances, but particularly in the Reign of *Henry IV.* Although *Richard* had been deposed by the Parliament, it appeared upon several Occasions, that the People had acquiesced to the *Sentence* purely by Constraint, since, not only at the Time we are speaking of, but upon other Occasions, they were always ready to run after any *Counterfeit Richard* that was presented to them.

In a very short Time, the Lords Conspirators saw themselves at the Head of so formidable an Army, that they thought it in their Power to go and seize upon the King at *Windsor*. It is said that in two or three Days their Army consisted of forty Thousand Men. With these numerous Troops they began their March towards *Windsor*, which lies not above thirty Miles from *Oxford*, and came there at Break of Day, in great Expectation of surprizing the King. And indeed, *Henry* not imagining they could possibly be so soon in a Condition to execute such an Enterprize, had staid at *Windsor* till that very Night, and was gone but a few Hours before they came. His going away

away having frustrated their Design, they were in very great Perplexity. Some were for marching directly to *London*, before the King should have time to secure the City. Others affirmed, that their Business was to go to *Pontfraet*, to free *Richard*, and set him at their Head. This Diversity of Opinions made them lose in Debates the Time they should have spent in Action. So that the King had Leisure to provide for his Defence, and draw together an Army of Twenty Thousand Men. As he did not question but the Male-Contents would take the Road to *London*, he went and expected them upon *Hounslow-Heath*, in hopes that his Army would daily increase. Whatever might be the Issue, he was resolved, though much inferiour in Numbers, to hazard a Battle. This Resolution inspired his Troops with Courage, and made them imagine the Male-Contents were not so strong as they were reported to be. It was likewise the Cause, that many seeing the King march unconcerned to meet the Enemy, came and joined him in order to show their Diligence; which doubtless they would not have done, had he shown on this Occasion the least Signs of Fear or Diffidence. At such Junctures the Majority of the People, without considering Right or Justice, generally declare for that Side which is like to be uppermost.

*The King's
Resolution
of Advan-
tage to
him.*

Mean while the Conspirators seeing the King in Condition to withstand them, durst not cope with him. Whether it proceeded from their little Capacity, or whether from the Fear of being deserted by their Army, they minded nothing but how to avoid a Battle. Instead of marching towards *London* to meet the King, they took the Road to *Reading*, and encamped near *Colebrook*, where the young Queen *Isabella* lay. * Here it was they resolved to put an end to *Mandlin's* acting the Part he had hitherto played, thinking it more to their Purpose to spread a Report that *Richard* was

*The Con-
spirators
avoid a
Battle,
and retire.*

* The Conspirators marched, in Suspence what to do, from *Oxford* to *Colebrook*, and there hearing the King was on *Hounslow-Heath* with his Army, turned back and marched towards *Reading*, to a Place called *Sunning*. Where the Queen was, and not at *Colebrook*.

1400.

*The four
Chiefs are
attacked
by the
Mayor of
Cirencel-
ter. Act.
Pub. viii.
89, 90.*

*Two are
taken and
beheaded
on the
Spot.*

was in *Yorkshire* at the Head of a Hundred Thousand Men. Their Design was not only to avoid the King, but, in all appearance, to approach *Wales*, from whence they expected to have Assistance, *Richard* being well-beloved in that Country. However, having encamped near *Cirencester* (a), the Generals took up their Quarters in the Town, whilst the Army lay without. The Duke of *Surrey* and the Earl of *Salisbury* lodged at one Inn, and the Duke of *Exeter* and the Earl of *Gloucester* at another. Their little Experience having caused them to neglect to set Guards at the Gates, the Mayor of the Town, a Man of Sense and Courage, took Advantage of their Negligence, to do the King a signal Piece of Service. He privately drew together in the Night, four hundred Townsmen, and having ordered the Gates to be shut, he divided his Followers into two Companies, and attacked at once the two Inns where the four Generals lodged. Though these Lords had none but their Domesticks with them, they defended themselves the best Part of the Night. During the Conflict, one of their People bethought himself of setting Fire to a neighbouring House, imagining the Townsmen would busy themselves in extinguishing the Flames, and by that Means give the Lords an Opportunity to escape. But this Stratagem had a quite contrary Effect. The Townsmen still more irritated by this Action, redoubled their Efforts, and at length broke open the Inn defended by the Duke of *Surrey* and Earl of *Salisbury*. These two Lords being much wounded, were beheaded on the Spot by the Mayor's Order. On the other Side, the Duke of *Exeter* and Earl of *Gloucester*, perceiving they were no longer able to hold out with the few People they had with them, found means to escape over the Houses, and to get out of the Town by the Help of some of the Inhabitants. Their Intent was to march the Army into the Town: but upon their coming to the Camp, they found it deserted. The Report which the Soldiers heard, and the Fire which they saw in the Town, having made them believe that the King's

(a) And not *Chichester*, as some have affirmed. *Act. Pub. V. viii. 89.*

King's Army was there, they had all taken to sudden Flight, seized with a *Panick* Fear, which made them see Danger where there was none. Thus the Lords perceiving it out of their Power to execute their Design, parted, the better to provide for their Safety. But they had the Misfortune to be taken, and shortly after lost their Heads on the Scaffold. *Maudlin* was also apprehended as he was endeavouring to escape into *Scotland*, and condemned to be hanged. The Abbot of *Westminster* making off likewise, was seized with so terrible a Fright, that he fell into a Fit of the *Apoplexy* and died. As for the Bishop of *Carlisle*, he was taken also and sentenced to Death. But though on the Score of his *Character* the King pardoned him, yet he was not in a State to enjoy the Benefit, when the News of his Pardon was brought him. The Terror of the Punishment he was to undergo, had made such an Impression upon him, that it caused his Death, at the very Time that *Mercy* was influencing the King to spare his Life *.

1400.

The other two are likewise taken and executed.

The Bishop of Carlisle dies with Fear.
A^d. Pub. VIII. 165.

Tragical Death of Richard II.

In all likelihood, the ill Success of this Enterprize hastened *Richard's* End. There is some Diversity among Historians about the manner of his Death, but they all agree it was unnatural. Some affirm, he was starved to Death. Others pretending to be better informed, relate his Death with these Circumstances. After the Troubles above-mentioned were appeased, by the Death of the principal Conspirators, one Sir *Thomas Pyers* came to *Pontfract*, attended by eight Men. The same Day he arrived, *Richard* perceived at Dinner that the Victuals were not tasted as usual. He asked the Reason of it of the Person whose Business it was, and upon his telling him that *Pyers* had brought an Order from the King to the contrary, he took up a Knife and struck him on the Face with it. *Pyers* coming in, with his eight Attendants at the Noise, *Richard* found he was a dead Man, and resolving to sell his Life at a dear Rate, he snatched from one of them a Battle-Ax, with which he defended himself so bravely, that he slew four of them. But at length, standing accidentally near *Pyers* who was got up-

* *Thomas Merks* Bishop of *Carlisle* lived after his Deprivation several Years *Goodwin*, p. 679.

1400. on a Chair, the Villain discharged upon his Head a Blow with a Club, which laid him dead at his Feet *.

Thus died this unfortunate Prince, Thirty-three Years old, of which he had sat Twenty-two on the Throne *¹. A melancholy Reward for the many signal Services the Prince his Father had done *England* ! He was carried to *London* in a Coffin with his Face uncovered, that every one might view it. His Funeral was solemnized at *St. Paul's*, at which the King was pleased to be present. This done, he was carried to *Langley Church*, and interred without any Ceremony. Afterwards *Henry V.* ordered his Body to be removed to *Westminster-Abby*, and laid among his Ancestors. Though it was reported all over the Kingdom that he had been murdered, yet no Inquiry was made into the Matter, which confirmed the People in their Belief, that the King was not innocent. The Truth is, if *Richard* died of a natural Death, it would have been necessary to undeceive the Publick. But in Case he lost his Life by violent Means, it was a hard Matter for any one to make use of them without the King's Knowledge.

Though *Richard* had not been beloved whilst he sat on the Throne, his Misfortunes failed not to excite the Compassion of the very People that had been so ready to desert him. It is peculiar to Misfortunes, especially of Princes, generally to change *Hatred* into *Pity*. Of this we shall see in the Sequel of this very Reign several Instances.

The

* This is *Fabian's* Account. *Walsingham* says, he fasted himself to Death for Grief at the Miscarriage of the Plot. *Stow* says he was kept fifteen Days together in *Hunger, Thirst* and *Cold*, till he died. *Polydore Virgil* says, he was not suffered to touch or taste the Victuals which lay before him. *Hector Boethius* will have it, that *Richard* fled in disguise into *Scotland*, where giving himself up wholly to Contemplation, he lived and died, and was buried at *Sterling*. Perhaps this was true of some Counterfeit *Richard*.

*¹ The beautiful Picture of a King sitting, crowned in a Chair of State, at the upper End of the Choir in *St. Peter's Westminster*, said to be his. *Speed*, p. 615.

The *English* Writers pretend, that *Charles VI* made great Preparations to try to restore *Richard* to the Throne. ^{1400. Act. Pub. VIII. 223.} But the *French* Historians take no notice of the Court of *France's* stirring much in that Affair. It is true, we have in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, several of *Henry's* Orders relating to the Preparations carrying on in *France*, with design to invade *England*: But that might be an Effect of *Henry's* Policy, to let the World see the Necessity of *Richard's* Death. And indeed, the Truce of Twenty ^{Truce with France confirmed.} eight Years between the two Crowns was confirmed in *May* this very Year, and all the pretended Armaments of *France* ended in a Negotiation to draw from *England* Queen *Isabella*, with whom *Richard* had not consummated his Marriage. It was not without Reason that *Henry* endeavoured to maintain the Truce with *France*. He had a Quarrel with the King of *Scotland*, which would not suffer him to carry his Forces out of the Kingdom. The Occasion of the Rupture between these two Princes was this.

Robert Stuart, King of *Scotland*, the Third of that Name, was desirous to match Prince *David* his eldest Son, with a Daughter of *George Dunbar* Earl of *March*. The Earl taking this Alliance as a very great Honour, joyfully received the Proposal, and even paid before-hand part of the Marriage Portion. However, shortly after, by Intrigues needless to be mentioned here, Prince *David* married a Daughter of *Archibald*, Earl of *Dowglas*. *Dunbar* was extremely vexed at this Affront, to which the King added another Cause of Discontent, by refusing or delaying to refund the Money he had received. The Desire of Revenge, and of making the King sensible that he deserved a better Treatment, inspired the Earl with a Resolution to go over to the King of *England*, and do all the Mischief possible to his Enemies. To that End, he imparted his Design to the Earl of *Northumberland*, Governour of the *Northern* Counties, who presently after sent him a *Safe-Conduct* from the King his Master. Upon the Receipt whereof he repaired to *Henry*, and had several Conferences with him. The King of *Scotland* well aware that the Earl of *March* was hatching some Plot against him in *England*,
^{The Cause of the War with Scotland.}

1400.

land, sent Ambassadors to *Henry* to demand the *Deserter*, and upon *Henry's* Refusal, proclaimed War against him.

Henry
marches
into Scot-
land.

Henry not thinking fit to stay and expect his Enemy in *England*, prepared to carry the War into *Scotland*. As soon as his Army was ready to march, he went to *Newcastle*, and sent *Robert* a *Summons* to appear in Person, and do him Homage for the Kingdom of *Scotland*. In this *Citation*, he revived the Pretensions of *Edward I.* to the *Sovereignty* of that Kingdom, ever since the Time of *Lochrinus* Son of *Brutus*, first pretended King of the whole Island of *Albion*. Upon *Robert's* refusing to do him any such Homage, *Henry* entred *Scotland*, and made some Progress.

He besieges
Edin-
burgh.

Raises the
Siege.

The Scots
invade
England,
and are
defeated.

Truce be-
tween the
two King-
doms.

Towards the End of *September* he went and besieged the Castle of *Edinburgh*, defended by Prince *David* and the Earl of *Douglas* his Brother-in Law. But the Season being too far advanced to be able to go on with the Siege, he quitted it on a sudden, and retired to his own Dominions. As soon as he was gone, the *Scots* under the Conduct of Sir *Patrick Hepborne*, and *Thomas Habington*, made an Inroad into *England*, and revenged in a cruel Manner the Ravages the *English* had committed in *Scotland*. But in their Return, they were met by the Earl of *Northumberland*, who defeated them, and stript them of their Booty. *Hepborne*, one of the *Scotch* Generals, was slain in the Action. This Victory procured between the two Nations a Truce for six Weeks, which was afterwards prolonged, by reason of the Posture *Henry's* Affairs were in. Hardly had he begun the War with *Scotland*, when he received certain Intelligence that the *Welsh* were about to Revolt, and that they had a Design to raise in their Country Commotions, which must be attended with fatal Consequences. This was the Reason, that notwithstanding his Success against the *Scots*, he was not willing to improve his Advantages, for fear of exasperating them too much. This is what *Buchanan* himself owns, ascribing to his Generosity what was only the Effect of his Policy; the Motions of the *Welsh* having made a Peace with *Scotland* absolutely necessary.

The

The *Welsh*, who ever since the Reign of *Edward I.* were subject, or rather united to *England*, believed they might take Advantage of the present Juncture, to recover their former State. *Owen Glendour*, or *Glendowrdwy*, as he is always called in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, was the Person that put them upon this Undertaking. This Man, though a private Gentleman only, had all the Qualities proper for such an Attempt, if the *Welsh* Forces had been strong enough to afford him any Prospect of Success. Nevertheless, he managed Matters in such a Manner, that for several Years he found Means to free his Countrymen from the Subjection they had been kept in by the *English*. A Law-Suit he had lost at *London* with the Lord *Grey* of *Ruthin*, his Neighbour, was the first Occasion of the Disgust he conceived against the whole *English* Nation*. The Conspiracy which I have spoken of before, breaking out in *England* at this very Time, *Glendour*, not questioning but it would cause great Disturbances, thought it a fair Opportunity to cast off the *English* Yoke. He privately sounded the *Welshmen*, and finding they were inclinable enough to receive his Impressions, he brought them without much Difficulty to a Resolution to assert their Liberty. He would have forthwith discovered his Designs, if the ill Success of the *English* Conspiracy had not withheld him. The Moment he saw the King engaged in the War with *Scotland*, he set about executing his Project, and got the *Welsh* to renounce with one Consent their Allegiance to the Crown of *England*, and acknowledge him for Sovereign. From thenceforward he always stiled himself *Prince of Wales*, as appears by several *Acts*.

1400.
Revolt of
the Welsh
under
Glendour.
Act. Pub.
VIII. 159.

Act. Pub.
VIII. 156.

His first Enterprize was against the Lord *Grey* his Adversary, whom he took Prisoner in a Battle; after which, he made him marry his Daughter, without giving him his Liberty, contrary to his Word.

Emboldened

* He was brought up at the *Inns of Court* in *London*, and was it seems King *Richard's* Esquire: But in *Henry's* Time he retired to his Mannor of *Glendowrdwy*, where he had a Dispute with the Lord *Grey*, for having entered upon Part of a Common lying between *Ruthin* and *Glendowrdwy*.

1400.
Glendour
takes the
Earl of
March Pr-
isoner.

Henry is
glad of the
Earl's Mis-
fortune.

Emboldened by this Success he made an Incurſion into *Herefordſhire*. *Edmund Mortimer* Earl of *March*, who had retired to his Lordſhip of *Wigmore*, finding that the King was employed in *Scotland*, thought to do him a ſignal Service, by drawing together the Gentry of the Country, in order to go and put a ſtop to the Progreſs of the Rebels. But he had the Miſfortune to be taken Priſoner in a Battle; and though he offered a large Ranſom, could not obtain his Liberty. *Glendour* imagined that a Priſoner of that Conſequence might be of uſe to him hereafter, or at leaſt that the King would ſpare no Coſt for his Deliverance, and therefore his beſt way would be rather to treat with the King than with the Priſoner himſelf. But he was very much out in his Conjecture. *Henry* was too well pleaſed to ſee the Earl of *March* a Priſoner and unable to hurt him, to contribute any Thing towards his Release. *Glendour* however ſtill kept his Priſoner, hoping by his Means he ſhould one Day be able to give the King ſome Diſturbance, as it actually happened. The Earl was not ſorry afterwards at his being in the Hands of the *Welſh*. *Henry's* Jealouſy of every Thing relating to his Crown, and his Severity to thoſe that would diſpute it with him, made the Earl ſenſible, that his Life was ſafer in Priſon than at his own Houſe. Mean while the King being taken up in the *Scotch* War, *Glendour* had Time enough to ravage the Country on the Weſt-Side of the *Severn*, and to carry off a great Booty.

The Em-
peror of
Conſtan-
tinople ar-
rives in
England.

About the End of this Year, *Manuel Paleologus*, Emperor of *Conſtantinople*, arrived in *England* to move for Succour againſt *Bajazet* Emperor of the *Turks*. The King gave him an honourable Reception, and made him ſome Preſents. But as for Succour, he put him off till his Affairs were better ſettled in his own Kingdom. The Emperor went from *England* to *France*, from whence he departed not till two Years after, upon News that *Bajazet* his Enemy was vanquiſhed and made Priſoner by *Tamerlane*.

1401.
Statutes
in Church-
Affairs.

On the 21ſt of *January* 1401, *Henry* aſſembled a Parliament which paſſed ſeveral *Statutes* with relation to the Church. The firſt confirmed the *Acts* paſſed in the Reigns

Reigns of *Edward III* and *Richard II*, against such as sued for *Provisions* in the Court of *Rome*, or carried to the *Ecclesiastical Courts* Causes belonging to the Cognizance of the *Civil Judges*. This was the old Quarrel with the Court of *Rome*. What rigorous Proceedings soever were used to stop the Course of these Abuses, they had been ineffectual, because it was the Interest of too many People to countenance the pretended *Prerogatives* of the Pope. But however this Parliament having considered that the Pope still went on to engross the *Collations* of all the *Church-Preferments* of the Kingdom, and that the *Ecclesiastical Courts* were continually encroaching upon the *Civil* ones, came to a Resolution at length to oppose those Things effectually. To that Purpose were revived the old *Statutes of Provisors* in the Reigns of *Edward III* and *Richard II*, commonly known by the Name of the *Statute of Premunire*. As this Term often occurs in the *English History*, it will not be improper to explain it. By *Premunire* then is meant, either the *Statute* it self, or the *Penalty* annexed to it. Former Parliaments acting from the same Motive as this, had ordained Punishments against the *Provisors*, that is, against such as sought after *Bulls*, called *Provisiones* or *Gratie Expectative*, from the Court of *Rome*, for *Benefices* either *vacant* or that should be so. The same Punishments were ordained against those that carried to the Court *Ecclesiastical* what belonged to the *Civil*. When any Person incurred the Guilt of this sort of Crime, a *Writ* or *Order* was issued against him, beginning with these Words, *Premunire facias*, whereby he was commanded to appear in the King's Court. Hence the *Statute* as well as the *Penalty* annexed were called *Premunire* *. This Penalty consisted in *Forfeiture of Lands*, and *Imprisonment* during the King's Pleasure. In Process of Time several other Offences of a like Nature with those that were the first Cause of the *Statute*, were made liable to the same Penalty. So that all the *Statutes of Premunire* are only Enlargements of those

1401.

*Statutes of
Premunire:*

*Explication of that
Term*

* Supposed to be used in the barbarous *Law-Latin*, instead of *Pramonere*.

1401.

those that were made in the Reigns of *Edward III* and *Richard II*. In general, the *Premunire* chiefly regards Offences committed in Matters *Ecclesiastical*, wherein the *Civil Jurisdiction* is concerned.

The *Clergy* were all along so intent upon favouring the Pretensions of the Court of *Rome*, that the Pains former Parliaments had been at to remedy this Abuse, were to little Purpose. The *Statute* I have just spoken of had scarce any better Effect. The Attempt made last Year to dethrone the King, having given him Cause to fear the like Conspiracies for the future, he had resolved to keep fair with the *Clergy*, that they might be attached to his Interest. So that although he did not think proper to refuse his Assent to the new *Statute*, he connived however at the Breach of it, as much as, or more than any of his Predecessors. But this was not the only Thing he did to gain the Affection of the *Clergy*. His Condescension for them in another Article, of no less Importance, drew upon him the *Blessings* of the *Ecclesiasticks*, and caused him to be looked on by the whole Body, as a Prince exceeding zealous for the *Church*.

*Statute
against
Hereticks.*

Since *Wickliff* first published his Opinions about the End of the Reign of *Edward III*, his *Doctrine* had gained so much Ground, that the *Clergy* were in continual Apprehensions of its getting uppermost. I have already related that in the Reign of *Richard II*, the Bishops had obtained a general License to imprison *Hereticks* without being obliged to have a particular *Order* from the Court, but that the House of *Commons* had caused it to be revoked. From that Time there had been no Alteration on that Account, except that the King granted more frequently the like *Orders*. However, as the Penalty of Imprisonment was not capable of checking the pretended Evil the Bishops were in dread of, *Henry* having always in view the gaining of the Affection of the *Ecclesiasticks*, recommended to the Parliament in a very pressing manner the Care of the *Church's* Concerns. How reluctant soever the *House of Commons* might be to persecute the *Lollards*, the Credit of the Court and Cabals of the *Clergy*, obtained at length an Act

for

for the burning of *obstinate Hereticks*. This Statute was no sooner passed, but the *Ecclesiastical Court* immediately condemned one *William Sawtre* * a *Lollard*, who being delivered over to the *secular Power*, was burnt alive by Virtue of the King's *Writ* *¹ directed to the *Mayor of London*. This Man was the first who suffered Death in *England* for the sake of Religion. During this *Session* several *Acts* were likewise passed concerning the Disputes between the *English* and the *Court of Rome*, of which I shall have Occasion to speak in another Place.

Since the Truce with *France* had been confirmed, *Charles VI*, or rather the Duke of *Orleans* his Brother, and the Dukes of *Berri* and *Burgundy* his Uncles, who governed in his Name, had often demanded the young Queen *Isabella* Widow of *Richard II*. *Henry* had deferred giving a positive Answer; not but that the Demand was very just: But two reasons made him desirous of keeping that Princess if possible. First, as he could not help being apprehensive of a War with *France*, he was willing to make a firm and lasting Peace with *Charles VI*, to which he believed the Marriage of *Isabella* with the Prince his Son would mightily contribute. With this View it was, that before he returned a positive Answer to the Court of *France*, he had frequently proposed this Match. But neither the Brother nor Uncles of *Charles* would ever consent to it, not being able to think of marrying the young Queen to a Prince whose Father was looked upon by all the World as the Murderer of her first Husband. They alledged however another Reason for declining it, namely, That her Father not being in a Condition to manage his Affairs, they durst not treat of his Daughter's Marriage without his Consent. A second Reason why *Henry* put off sending back *Isabella*, was his being very sensible that the Restitution of the Money *Richard* had already received with her would be demanded. However, as he had no plausible Pretext to detain her, he consented at last to restore her

1401.
A Lollard
burnt.
Act. Pub.
VIII. 178

Negotiati-
on about
sending
back Ri-
chard's
Widow.
ibid.
p. 186.

Henry de-
mands Isa-
bella for
his Son.
He is put
off.

He sends
her back.
Act. Pub.
VIII. 194.

* Parish-Priest of St. Osthin in London.

* Writ de Heretico Comburendo.

1401. with all her Jewels. He knew how to manage it so dextrously, that in the *Conventions* made upon that Account at *Lelingham*, there was no mention of any Restitution. That was the Subject of another Negotiation, which I shall speak of hereafter.

Marriage
of Blanch,
Henry's
Daughter,
with the
Earl Pa-
latin.
ibid.
179.

Whilst this Affair was transacting, *Henry* had in *Germany* another Negotiation on Foot, about a Marriage between *Blanch* his eldest Daughter, and *Lewis* of *Bavaria*, Grandson of *Robert* Earl *Palatin* of the *Rhine*, who was just advanced to the *Imperial* Throne, vacant by the Death of *Henry* of *Brunswick* Successor of *Winceflaus*. This Affair was concluded in *May*, to the King's great Satisfaction. The Princess's Portion was forty Thousand Pounds *Sterling*. At the same Time, a Treaty of perpetual Alliance was made between the Emperor and *Henry*.

The King's
Expedition
against the
Welsh.

Since the Revolt of the *Welsh* broke out, *Henry* had made no Preparations to reduce them to Obedience. Meanwhile *Glendour* taking Advantage of his Negligence, continued to ravage the *Counties* bordering upon *Wales*. Far from dreading the King's just Indignation, he studied to provoke him by continual Insults. *Henry's* Indolence appeared strange to abundance of People, because they were ignorant of the Reason of it. Before he took up Arms against the *Welsh*, he was desirous of finishing his Matters with *France*, and even intended to make a strict Alliance with that Crown. As he knew the Rebels could have no Assistance but from thence, he believed, could he deprive them of that Protection, they would not be able to hold out long. Mean time the Negotiations with *France* going on slower than he could wish, and *Glendour* still continuing to infest his Borders, he could no longer put off taking up Arms. Before he put himself at the Head of his Army, he published a General Pardon for the *Welsh*, provided they submitted within a certain Time. But finding his Clemency had no great Effect, he set forward to go and chastise them. Upon his Approach *Glendour* withdrew to the Mountains, where it was impossible to come at him. All the King could do was to ravage the Country, which done, he returned to *London*.

Act. Pub.
VIII. 225.

The

The King's Return to his *Metropolis* was immediately followed by the Discovery of a Plot against his Life, by the Means of an Iron Instrument with three sharp *Spikes* placed in his Bed. Had he lain down upon them, they must inevitably have run through his Body; but by good Fortune, he perceived them just as he he was going to lye down. What Inquiry soever was made, there was no possibility of discovering the Author of this traiterous Attempt.

1401.
An Invention to kill the King discovered.

It was this and not the last Year, as some affirm, that *Edmund Duke of York* the King's Uncle, died. He left two Sons, *Edmund Duke of Albemarle*, who took the Title of Duke of *York*, and *Richard Earl of Cambridge*. I shall have frequent Occasion hereafter to speak of the Descendants of the younger, who by his Marriage with a Sister of the Earl of *March*, acquired to his Issue a Title to the Crown, which caused terrible Commotions in the Kingdom.

Death of the Duke of York. Succeeded by his Son.

In the Beginning of the next Year, the King by his sole Authority, and without the Aid of the Parliament, laid a Tax for the Marriage-Dowry of his Daughter. Though in so doing he had acted by Virtue of an antient Privilege of the Kings on the like Occasions, the People however appeared dissatisfied at it. There were not wanting in the Kingdom such as laid hold of every Thing to find Fault with his Conduct. About the Middle of the Year he had Reason to perceive that there was still a dangerous Ferment among his Subjects, and that if the Male-Contents sat quiet, it was only in Expectation of a favourable Opportunity to rise. On a sudden, when he least thought of it, a Rumour was spread over all *England*, that *Richard* was alive, and had levied an Army in *Scotland*, in order to come and drive out the Usurper. It was a plain Case that the People wished the News true, since it met with so much Credit from all Hands. At the same Time, on Church-Doors and in other publick Places, Papers were posted up containing outrageous Invectives against the King. The Authors of these *Papers* asserted among other Things, that the Crimes for which *Richard* was deposed, were nothing in Comparison of the *tyrannical Proceedings of Hen-*

1402.
Tax raised for the Marriage of the King's Daughter.
ibid.
p. 242.

A Rumour of Richard's being alive.
ibid.
p. 225.

Writings against the King.

1402.
He punishes
the Au-
thors.

ry since he had been on the Throne. The King was so provoked at this Audaciousness, that he swore he would never pardon such as were found guilty. Sir *Roger Clarendon*, natural Son of *Edward* the renowned Prince of *Wales*, fell the first Sacrifice to his Vengeance, being sentenced to dye the ignominious Death of a Traitor. Eight Monks guilty of the same Crime were hanged with him. *Walter Baldock* Prior of *Laune* underwent the same Fate, with a *Franciscan* Doctor in *Divinity*, who was hanged in his *Friar's Habit*, to the great Mortification of the *Fraternity* *. Many more were apprehended, upon finding among the Papers of a certain Priest, a List of the Names of those that had declared *Richard* was living. But upon strict Examination, it appeared that he had made that List, on purpose to make the News the more likely, or upon Conjectures void of Foundation. So that he suffered alone the Punishment of his Rashness. The King's great Severity upon this Occasion, contributed very much to efface the good Opinion People had conceived of his Clemency and Humanity.

Marriage
of the King
with Jo-
anna of
Navarre.
Act. Pub.
VIII. 261,
281.

Whilst these Things were doing in *England*, *Henry* treated in Foreign Courts about three Marriages at once. The First was between *Philippa* his second Daughter, and *Eric* King of *Denmark*, who was yet a *Minor*, under the Guardianship of Queen *Margaret* his Mother. The Second, was between the Prince of *Wales*, and a Sister of *Eric's*. And the Third was his own, with *Joanna* of *Navarre* Widow of the Duke of *Bretagne*. Of these three Marriages, the first and the last were concluded this very Year; but the Prince of *Wales's* came to nothing.

The Court
of France
get in their
Power the
Person of
the young
Duke of
Bretagne.

Henry in resolving to marry the Dutches's Dowager of *Bretagne* had plainly an Eye upon getting by Virtue of this Marriage, the Guardianship of the three Princes which the late Duke of *Bretagne* had left *Minors*. At least the Court of

* He being asked what he would have done if King *Richard* had been living and in the Field, boldly replied, he would have ventured his Life for him against any Person whatever. Upon which he was hanged, and drawn in his Habit. *Walsingham*, p. 557.

of *France*, taking it for granted, appeared very much alarmed at this Alliance, which could not but be very prejudicial to the *French* Interest. This was the Reason that the Duke of *Burgundy*, Guardian of the young Princes, took them from the Dutchess their Mother, and carried them to *Paris*, where they were brought up. By this Means the Court of *France* took upon them to manage the Affairs of *Bretagne*, during the Non-Age of the young Duke. If it be true that *Henry* had any Eye upon *Bretagne*, he not only missed his Aim, but drew upon himself fresh Enemies. During the whole Time the new Duke was in *France*, the *Bretons* scarce ever ceased infesting the Coasts of *England*, though there was no open War proclaimed between their Sovereign and *Henry*. The King's Marriage was not consummated till the Year following.

1402.

ibid.

64, 281.

These Negotiations being over, *Henry* prepared in good earnest to chastise the *Welsh*. To that End, he drew together a numerous Army, and heading them in Person, he advanced towards *Wales*. Upon his Approach, *Glendour* retired to the Mountains of *Snowdon*, where he knew there was no attacking him. In the mean Time the King was preparing to ravage the Country; but the Weather became on a sudden so tempestuous, that he was forced to retire. The Storms were so uncommon for the Season, that the *English* fancied *Glendour* had made a Contract with the *Devil*, to prevent the Destruction of his Country.

*Expedition
of the King
into Wales.*

Whilst the King was taken up in those Parts, the *Scots* under the Command of *Hephorne*, Son of him slain two Years before, made an Irruption into *England*, and advanced as far as *Newcastle*. The Earl of *Northumberland*, General of the *North*, was not at first in a Readiness to repulse the Invasion. But having drawn together a great Body of Troops, whilst they were continuing their Ravages, he went and expected them at *Nisbet*, where he attacked and defeated them, carrying off all their Booty. The *Scotch* General lost his Life in the Action.

*The Scots
invade
England.
p. 272.*

*Are de-
feated at
Nisbet.
p. 273.*

These

1402.
Another
Invasion of
the Scots.

p. 291.

The French
and Eng-
lish blame
one ano-
ther for
breaking
the Truce.

These Troops were properly but the Vanguard of an Army which the Earl of *Dowglas* was leading forward with all Speed, in order to make a more considerable Push. Upon News of *Hepborne's* Defeat, he hastened into *England* with Design to fight the Earl of *Northumberland*, who finding he was not strong enough to hazard a Battle, was oblig'd to retire and leave the Borders exposed to his Ravages. Mean while he laboured without ceasing to augment his Army; and as soon as he was in a Condition to face him, he marched in quest of him, attended by *Henry Hotspur* his Son, who was reckoned the bravest Man in *England*. The two Armies meeting at *Halwedon-Hill*, a bloody Battle ensued, wherein the *English* were entirely victorious. The *Scotch* General lost an Eye, and was taken Prisoner, together with the Earl of *Fife* Nephew of the King of *Scotland*, the Earls of *Angus*, *Athol*, *Monteith*, and a vast Number of other Officers of Distinction. According to the *English* Historians, this Battle was fought in *July*, about a Month after the former. *Buchanan* places it among the Occurrences of the Year 1401, but in this we may be sure he is mistaken.

During the whole Summer the Ambassadors of *France* and *England* continued at *Lelingham*, on Account of the Truce which had been violated, particularly in *Guienne*. the *French* Historians cast the Blame upon *England*, and the *English* upon *France*; but we are not obliged to believe either of them on their bare Word. In Cases of this Nature, the Historians of both Nations seldom fail of contradicting one another, and upbraiding each other with Partiality. Their Honour seems to be concern'd in maintaining upon all Occasions the *Faith* and *Truth* of their respective Sovereigns. But however, in the Situation the two Kings had for some Time been in, it could be to neither's Advantage to renew the War. *Henry* thought *France* alone was the Place from whence the *Welsh* and the Male-Contents in *England* could procure any Aid, which he believed he should prevent by Means of the Truce; but in that he was mistaken. On the other Side, King *Charles's* Distemper, the Divisions then in his Court and Council,

gave

gave the *French* no Room to expect any great Success of their Arms. So the Truce was again confirmed without examining too strictly which Side broke it first.

1402.

This Affair being settled, the *French* Ambassadors brought another upon the Board, by demanding the Restitution of what King *Richard* had received with his Queen. *Henry*, who foresaw this Demand, had given Instructions beforehand to his Ambassadors what Answer they should make. They pretended to be surprized at the Proposition, and said they had no Orders about that Matter. However, they add.d as of themselves, that they did not question but in Order to preserve a good Understanding between the two Crowns, their Master would agree to deduct that Sum out of the Million and half of Crowns, which were still due to *England* for the Ransom of King *John*. This Pretension did not a little Surprize the *French* Plenipotentiaries, who having no Instructions upon that Head, deferred their Answer till they should know their Master's Pleasure.

The French demand Isabella's Portion. Act Pub. VIII. 232, 302.

The English offer to deduct it out of King John's Ransom.

The Parliament meeting in *October*, granted the King a *Subsidy*, and then confirmed divers *Statutes* made in the Reign of *Edward III*, in Favour of the *Clergy*. The *Session* ended with a *Petition* to the King, recommending to him the Concerns of the *Scotch* Earl of *March*, who had done the *State* considerable Service since his putting himself under the Protection of *England*.

The Parliament meets

The new Queen being arrived in *England* in *February* 1403, the King went and received her at *Winchester*, where the Marriage was consummated. After which she was solemnly crowned at *London*.

1403. The Queen arrives.

Whilst the Court was wholly taken up with Entertainments and Diversions, the King received Intelligence that the *French* were going to make a Descent in the *Isle of Wight*, under the Conduct of *Valeran* Earl of *St. Paul*, of the House of *Luxembourg*. This Earl having married a Half-Sister of *Richard II*, pretended to act in his own Name, to revenge the Death of the King his Brother-in-law. The Court of *France* connived at the Undertaking, and even furnished the Earl with Troops, as if the Truce were not infringed

The French make a Descent in the Isle of Wight.

1403. infringed by it at all. Mean Time this Bravado succeeded but lamely with the Earl of *St. Paul*. After plundering some Villages, he found himself constrained to re-imbark in a dishonourable Manner, though the Inhabitants of the Isle had received no Succours. *Henry* complained to the Court of *France* of this Invasion. But he could get no other Answer than that it was the King of *France's* Intention to keep the Truce. Had he not been bent upon avoiding a Rupture, the Earl of *Paul's* Attempt would have afforded him a very good Handle to renew the War. But as he was sensible that the Kingdom abounded with Male-Contents, he would not give *France* an Opportunity openly to support them. On the contrary, by keeping up the Truce with that Crown, he designed to deprive them of the Prospect of being succoured. So that taking no further notice of the Insult, he was contented with obtaining of the Court of *France* a fresh Confirmation of the Truce.

Henry takes no notice of it.

The Duke of Orleans challenges him.

Act. Pub. VIII 310. 348.

They who governed for King *Charles* were not ignorant of *Henry's* Mind, which made them have the less Regard for him. This very Year the Duke of *Orleans* sent him a Challenge to fight, either in single Combat or with a hundred Knights on each Side. The Reason of this Challenge is no where mentioned in the *English* History, and the *French* alledge no better for it than the Duke of *Orleans's* earnest Desire to revenge the Death of *Richard II*. It is very likely that it was only a Whim of the young Duke's to signalize himself by sending a Challenge to the King of *England*; but the Answer he received was not very agreeable to him. *Henry* gave him to understand that there was a wide Distance between a King and any Person whatever that was but a Subject, and therefore he could not accept his Challenge; but that they might happen to meet in a Place where Both attended with a more numerous Train than what he proposed, they might measure Swords with one another. This Answer drew from the Duke of *Orleans* a Reply full of Invectives, calling him *Traitor* *Usurper*, *Murderer* of his King. *Henry* sent him another Answer which was no less abusive, wherein after giving him

the *Lie* in Form, he charged him with having made use of *Sorcery* to throw his Brother into the Distemper he was troubled with. Mean while he sent to know of the *French* Ambassadors, still with his at *Lelingham*, whether this Challenge had the Approbation of the King their Master; if so, he looked on it as an open Declaration of War. But though the Ambassadors were frequently called upon to return a positive Answer, there was no possibility of getting them to speak plainly. They only affirmed that their Master had not broke the Truce, neither did he intend to break it for the Time to come. In fine, as the *English* pressed them for an Answer from those that governed in *Charles's* Name during his Illness, they plainly told them, that whether the King continued out of Order, or whether he recovered his Health, they were to expect no other Reply. *Henry* construing this Silence as a disavowing, or rather thinking fit to take no notice of it, for Reasons already mentioned, took up with this slight Satisfaction.

1403.

Henry complains of it, but receives no Satisfaction.

During the Congress, the *French* Ambassadors moved again the Business of *Isabella's* Portion. On the other Side, the *English* Plenipotentiaries demanded the Residue of King *John's* Ransom, and endeavoured to shift off the Demand of the *French*, by alledging that as their Master received not *Isabella's* Dowry, he was not obliged to repay it. But this gave their Adversaries Room to retort in their Turn, though with no better Reason, that neither had their Master entered into an Engagement with *Henry* concerning King *John's* Ransom. However, as *Henry* demanded the Arrears of the Ransom, only to avoid paying back the Dowry, he had his Ends, and the Business stopped there.

Debate about *Isabella's* Portion.

Whilst the Ambassadors of the two Crowns were employed in cavilling with one another, Matters of much greater Moment to *Henry* were passing in *England*. Nothing less was at Stake than his Crown. From the Beginning of his Reign, to the Victory over the *Scots* at *Halidon-Hill*, no Lord was in greater Favour with the King than the Earl of *Northumberland*. As it was properly by

Quarrel between the King and Earl of *Northumberland*.

1403. the Readiness wherewith the Earl joined *Henry* upon his landing in *England*, that his Affairs had so good an Issue, the King had all along retained a very grateful Sense of it. The Government of the *Northern* Counties, the Post of *High-Constable*, the Grant of the *Isle of Man*, and several other Favours, were plain Indications of his Esteem for the Earl, who on his Part had always appeared very zealous for his Service. The last Year he had gained over the *Scots* two Battles, the latter of which had disabled them from giving his Master any fresh Disturbance. This was a signal Piece of Service, but over and above the Favours he had received, the King had taken care to reward him with the Grant of certain Lands. Nothing therefore seemed capable of breaking the Harmony between the *Services* of the Earl and the *suitable Returns* of the King. And yet a Point of Interest set them so at Variance, that these happy Dispositions were altered on a sudden. The Occasion of their Difference was this.

I observed before, that the Earl of *Northumberland* had in the Battle of *Halwedon* taken several Prisoners of great Quality; the King being of Opinion that these Prisoners belonged to him, thought it not fit to leave them in the Earl's Disposal. Perhaps his Design was to raise a large Sum by their Ransom, or else by their Means to procure an advantageous Peace with *Scotland*. However that may be, immediately after the Battle, he sent an express Order to the Earl to release none of his Prisoners. This Order was quickly followed by another, enjoining him to deliver them into his Hands. The Earl having flattered himself with having the Benefit of their Ransom, forthwith repaired to Court, and requested the King to let him have the Disposal of them: but he had the Mortification to meet with a Denial. He exclaimed against the Injustice that was done him, and spoke to the King in somewhat a too haughty Manner. The Reproaches which fell from him on this Occasion put *Henry* so out of Humour with him, that he no longer looked upon him with the same Eye he used to do. This Coolness was carried so far, that when the Earl would have spoke with the King, he was denied Admittance into his Presence.

Presence. This Alteration could not but exasperate the Earl, who thought that his *Services* deserved quite another Treatment. As he was naturally of a very haughty Temper, he could not bear this Slight without seeking Occasion to be revenged. He had, as one may say, placed the King in the Throne, and he imagined himself powerful enough to pull him down again. This was the Result of several Conferences he held with *Henry Hotspur* his Son, the Earl of *Worcester* his Brother, and some other Lords. Their Aim was to set the Crown on the Head of *Edward Mortimer*, Earl of *March*, still a Prisoner in *Wales*; not out of Affection for that Prince, but because there was no other plausible Pretence to gain the People to their Side. Pursuant to this Resolution, they dispatched secret Agents to *Glendour* and *Mortimer*, to persuade them to come into their Plot. *Glendour* promised to employ all his Forces to make it succeed. As for the Earl of *March*, he very readily lent his Name towards executing a Project which tended to the placing him on the Throne. But that all Three might find their Account in it, it was agreed that the Earl of *March* should be put in Possession of the Kingdom; that the Earl of *Northumberland* should hold all the Country lying *North* of the *Trent*, on Condition of doing Homage to the Crown, and that *Glendour* should have all the Counties *West* of the *Severn*. The Project being thus formed, the Earl of *Northumberland* made believe for some time that he had forgot the Cause of Disgust the King had given him. He even came to Court, where he took Occasion to represent to the King, that the Earl of *March* having lost his Liberty in his Service, it was but reasonable he should pay his Ransom to *Glendour*. This Remonstrance was taken very ill. *Henry* was too well pleased with the Earl's being in the Hands of the *Welsh*, and unable, as he imagined, to hurt him, to be willing to contribute to his Deliverance. He replied, therefore, with some Signs of Anger, that the Earl having marched against the Rebels of his own Accord, and with the sole View of saving his Lands from Plunder, it was his Business to get out of Prison as well as he could: That for his Part, he did not think

1403.

The Earl of
Northum-
berland
projects the
dethroning
of the
King.

Leagues
with Glen-
dour and
Mortimer

Terms of
their
League.

The Earl of
Northum-
berland
solicits the
King to re-
deem Mor-
timer.

The King
refuses.

1403. himself obliged to see to procure his Liberty, much less to pay his Ransom. The Earl was not at all surpris'd at a Denial which he expected. His Intent was only to make appear the Hard-heartedness of the King to the Earl of *March*, and to insinuate from thence, that he must needs be convinced of the Justice of the Prisoner's Title to the Crown, since he dreaded to see him at Liberty. This Denial having made no Alteration in the Scheme of the Confederates, the Earl of *Northumberland* retired into the *North*, where he privately made sure of some Troops who were to be in Arms upon the first Notice. Then he settled a Correspondence with some *Scotch* Lords, who engaged to assist him. He likewise gave several *Scotch* Prisoners their Liberty, upon their promising to levy Troops for his Service. At the same Time *Glendour* was making extraordinary Preparations, which coming to the King's Ears, obliged him to be upon his Guard, though he knew not for what they were intended.

The Earl
pushes the
Execution
of his Pro-
ject.

The Male-
Contents
take up
Arms

They pub-
lish a Ma-
nifesto,

and report
Richard to
be alive.

The King
vindicates
himself in
a Procla-
mation.

As soon as the Confederates were ready, the Three *Percies* suddenly appeared in Arms in the *North*. Shortly after, the Earl of *Northumberland* falling ill, his Brother and Son marched with the Troops that were under his Command to join the *Welsh*, who were advanced as far as *Shropshire*. Upon the two Armies joining, the Male-Contents published a *Manifesto*, setting forth, that the King treated his Subjects in a tyrannical and intolerable Manner; that none but the *Clergy* had access to him; and that the greatest Lords could not be admitted into his Presence, unless introduced by some Bishop: That moreover, he converted to his own use the *Subsidies* granted by the Parliament for the Occasions of the Publick. They likewise spread a Rumour of *Richard II.* being alive, and that he was at *Chester* with a Body of Troops ready to join them.

Henry, who had received no Intelligence of their Designs, was extremely surpris'd at the News of this Rebellion. But as he had luckily an Army in a Readiness designed against the *Welsh*, he was not at a Loss what to do. However, as he was apprehensive that the Rebels *Manifesto* might have an ill Effect among the People, he believed he ought

1403.

ought before all Things to try to efface the Impressions it might make, by an Answer which he published by way of *Proclamation*. He cleared himself from the two main Articles of the *Manifesto*; first by denying that he had ever refused to admit into his Presence the very meanest of his Subjects, much less any of the Nobility, to which he call'd his whole Court to witness. As for the *Subsidies* granted by Parliament, he affirmed, that the greatest Part of the Money had been paid on account of the War with *Scotland*, to the Earl of *Northumberland* himself, as he could make appear by his own *Receipts*.

After he had published this Answer, he marched towards the Rebels, who were encamped at *Shrewsbury*. When the two Armies were just ready to engage, he seemed to dread the Issue. His Uneasiness caused him to offer such advantageous Terms to the Male-Contents, that *Henry Percy* being moved by them, desired the Earl of *Worcester* his Uncle to go to the King, and endeavour to procure an Accommodation. 'Tis said, that in the Conference with this Earl, the King made such Condescensions in favour of the Male-Contents, that they would have had reason to be satisfied with them, had not the Earl of *Worcester* given them to understand there was Nothing to be expected. However this be, the *Negotiation* coming to nothing, the Fight begun. The King at first had so much the worst of it, that he was very like to be intirely defeated. He had his Horse killed under him, and the Prince of *Wales* his Son was wounded in the Face. But he so dextrously managed his Body of *Reserve*, that by their Help he regained the Ground he had lost, and inspired his Troops with fresh Courage. From that Moment the Battle was entirely changed to the Disadvantage of the Male-Contents. The King's last Charge having put their Army in disorder, they were so briskly pushed, that *Henry* obtained a complete Victory. Young *Percy* was slain, and buried after the Battle with the King's Leave. But afterwards, altering his Mind, the King ordered him to be taken up, and his Body to be cut in Quarters, and fixed on Poles in the High-ways. The Earl of

*The Battle
of Shrews-
bury.*

*Hotspur is
slain.*

Act. Pub.
Worcester VIII. 320.

1403. *Worcester* being taken Prisoner was beheaded, and his Head set up over *London Bridge* *.

The Earl of Northumberland with-draws to the North.

Henry comes to York.

He pardons the Earl of Northumberland.

In the mean time the Earl of *Northumberland* being recovered of his Illness, was advancing with a Body of Troops in order to reinforce the Army of the Male-Contents, and to take upon him the Command. But hearing by the way of his Son's and Brother's Misfortune, he dismissed his Troops, not daring to keep the Field with so small a Number of Forces before a victorious Army. Mean while the King was on the March towards the *North*, well knowing the Center of the Rebellion was there, by reason of the Earl of *Northumberland's* great Interest in those Parts. Upon his coming to *York*, he took all imaginable Precaution to secure the Fidelity of the *Northern* Counties, as well by the Oath he required of the Inhabitants, as by other ways which he judged proper. When he thought he had taken pretty sure Measures to prevent an Insurrection, he summoned the Earl of *Northumberland* to appear before him. He promised a Pardon in case he obeyed without delay; but threatened him with utter Ruin, if he refused the Favour offered him. The Earl, having no way to extricate himself out of the ill State he was in, chose rather to cast himself upon the King's Mercy than be condemned to perpetual Banishment. So without Hesitation he repaired to *York*, and threw himself at the King's Feet, who punctually kept his word with him. He even left him all his Estate, except the *Isle of Man*, which he had given him in the Beginning of his Reign. This was a very slight Punishment for so great a Crime. But probably *Henry* not being able to forget the Services the Earl had done him, thought he still owed him this Acknowledgment: Besides, the Criminal had been already sufficiently punished in the Death of his Son and Brother.

Whilst

* It is said that Earl *Douglass* (who was in the Battle, and taken Prisoner, but released for his Valour) slew Three, *Boetius* says Four, armed in all Points like the King. *Henry* is reported to have slain that Day 36 with his own Hand. Of the Rebels were killed about 6000. of the King's Side about 1600.

Whilst the King was taken up in the *North*, the Court of *France*, having had Intelligence of the *Northumberland-Rebellion*, was resolved to take Advantage of the Commotions. It appears by several Pieces in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, that *Henry* had received Advice of a Descent which the Duke of *Orleans* was to make in *England*, whilst *John Duke of Burgundy*, who had lost his Father this Year, was to besiege *Calais*. It is observable, that notwithstanding the Truce which the two Crowns confirmed almost every Year, *France* never failed to show her Readiness to take all Advantages which the Troubles in *England* during this Reign might afford her. They who were at the *Helm* during King *Charles's* Illness, and particularly the Duke of *Orleans*, the King's Brother, never looked upon themselves bound by any Treaties they made with *Henry*. This might be made appear with the utmost Evidence. But as *Henry* always got clear of the Troubles which were raised in his Kingdom, the Court of *France* could only discover frequently their ill Intentions, without reaping any Benefit. In all Apperance, *Henry's* late Victory over the Rebels frustrated the Projects the *French* Court had formed against him. However, not to suffer him to enjoy perfect Tranquillity, as the *French* Ministers managed the Affairs of *Bretagne* during the Duke's Minority, they set the *Bretons* upon making a Descent on the *Western Coasts* of *England*, where they committed great Ravages. This Invasion, for which the *Bretons* could not alledge the least Reason, nettled the King exceedingly. Nevertheless, as he was willing to avoid coming to a downright War with *Bretagne*, in hopes of gaining one Day the young Duke to his Interests, he thought it is his best way to hide his Resentment. This was the Reason he was satisfied with some slight Excuses which the Regency of *Bretagne* made him, by disclaiming the Persons concerned in the Descent, as having acted without Orders from the Government. But at the same time, he privately gave leave to the Inhabitants of *Plymouth* and other Places in those Parts, to fit out a Fleet under the Command of *William Wilford*. This Admiral, though without the King's

1403.
France
ever ready
to take ad-
vantage of
the Trou-
bles in
England.

Ac. Pub.
VIII. 325.
The Bre-
tons make
a Descent.

The Eng-
lish take
their Re-
venge.

Com-

1403. Commission, set sail for *Bretagne*, where he revenged the Damages his Countrymen had received from thence.

1404. *A Subsidy granted the King.* The Parliament, which was called last Year and afterwards prorogued, met again in *January* 1404. The King found means to obtain a *Subsidy*, which must needs have been very extraordinary, since it was not to be recorded. But it is to no Purpose to endeavour to bury in Oblivion such sorts of *Precedents* which Princes upon Occasion but too frequently call to Remembrance.

Act of Indemnity. The Severities which had been exercised upon the Authors and Accomplices of the two late Rebellions, induced the Parliament to petition the King for a *General Indemnity*. *Henry* willingly complied with the Request but there were such Exceptions in the *Act* as rendered it almost of no Effect, since he pardoned only those whom he designed not to punish.

Richard is reported to be living. *Henry's* severe Proceedings against those who were infatuated with the false Notion of *Richard's* being still alive, had not been capable of undeceiving every Body. A Rumour being once more spread that *Richard* was in *Scotland*, one *Serlo* who had been a Gentleman of his Bed Chamber, repaired thither to see his old Master. He met with People who showed him a Man something like *Richard*, but not enough for a Domestick who had long served him to be deceived. Nevertheless *Serlo* feigning to take him for *Richard* himself, wrote to several Persons in *England*, that he was actually with him. The Testimony of a Man who could not, as was thought, be mistaken, produced so great an Effect, that Adundance of People suffered themselves to be carried away with the Cheat. The Countess of *Oxford*, Mother of the late Duke of *Ireland*, Favourite of *Richard*, believed it, or made as if she did so, and took Care to spread the Report. She even sent to several Persons in *Richard's* Name, little Silver *Harts*, such as that Prince used to give his Favourites. Mean while the King's

* This Tax is said to be Twenty Shillings of every *Knight's* Fee and Twelve Pence of every one that had Twenty Shillings a Year in Land, or Twenty Pounds in Money or Goods, and so upwards according to that Rate.

King's Diligence prevented the ill Effects this Imposture might have caused. He ordered the Countess to be taken into Custody with her Secretary who was in the Secret. Some Time after *Serlo* was apprehended on the Borders of the North, and hanged at *Berwick*. As he confessed the Cheat, and that he had a Hand in the Murder of the Duke of *Gloucester*, the Report he had spread died away by Degrees.

1404.

Henry punishes the Author of the Report. Act. Pub. VIII. 379.

This Year the *Bretons* made a Descent at *Portland**, and plundered some Houses on the Coast. But advancing farther into the Country, they met a Body of *Militia* ready to receive them, who drove them back to their Ships, and took several Prisoners of Distinction. Hitherto there was no Declaration of War between *England* and *Bretagne*: but the two Nations however continued to act in a hostile Manner against one another, though without the Consent of the Sovereigns. *France*, which then managed the *Bretons*, was very glad to set them and the *English* at Variance, for fear *Henry* should strengthen himself with the Alliance of *Bretagne* when the Duke was of Age. For this Reason *Henry* winked at these Insults, lest he should deprive himself of that Advantage. Besides, he seemed bent upon avoiding, as much as possible, the entering into any War, being apprehensive that the Male-contentments would raise Troubles in the Kingdom, in case he was obliged to send his Forces Abroad.

The Bretons land at Portland. ibid. 356.

Henry connives at it.

It was in all likelihood with the same View, that he concluded with *Scotland* a Truce from the 6th of *July* this Year, to the *Easter* next ensuing.

Truce with Scotland.

However he could not think that all his Precautions would for ever prevent the War he so much feared. Besides that he plainly saw *France* waited only an Opportunity to break with him, he considered that the Affairs of *Wales* were in a very ill Way. *Glendour* not only persisted in his Rebellion, but had even made himself Master of some

* At *Dartmouth*, says *Speed* and others. The Lord *Du Castile* their Leader was slain, and three Lords with twenty Knights taken Prisoners.

1404. Places on the West-Side of the *Severn*. Moreover, the Truce with *Scotland* being to expire in the Spring, there would be a Necessity of marching an Army into the *North*. These Considerations put him upon calling a Parliament in order to obtain an Aid which should enable him to carry on these Wars.

The illiterate Parliament.

The Parliament met *October* the 6th. It is said that the King in the *Writs* of Summons commanded the *Sheriffs* not to return any learned Men for *Knights of the Shire* or *Burgesses* for the Cities and Towns, and that from hence this Parliament was called the *Illiterate* or *Lack-Learning*. It is a Question however whether the King's Command was so express as is affirmed*. The Breach *Richard II* had made in the Nation's Liberties by the like Method, and the Punishment which followed, were still too fresh for *Henry* to imitate so publickly his Example, and expose himself to the same Danger in the present Juncture. It cannot be denied however but the Court upon this Occasion strove to get such Representatives chosen as were not too much prepossessed in Favour of the *Clergy*, for Reasons we shall see presently. Be this as it will, the King having represented to the Parliament thus composed, the great Want he had of an extraordinary Aid, the *Commons* went in a Body and presented to him a Remonstrance, wherein they told him, that without burdening his People he might supply his Occasions, by seizing the Revenues of the *Clergy*. They set forth, That the *Clergy* were possessed of the Third Part of the Lands of the Kingdom, and that not doing the King any *personal Service*, it was but just they should contribute out of their Revenues towards the pressing Necessities of the *Publick*. That it was evident the Riches of the *Ecclesiasticks* made them negligent in their Duty, and that the lessening of their excessive Incomes would be a double Advantage for the *State* and for the *Church*.

The Commons petition the King to seize the Church-Lands.

* Most of the Historians say, such were to be chosen as had no Skill in the Laws.

The King received this Remonstrance so as plainly made appear it was not disagreeable to him, and in all likelihood it was he himself that by his Emisaries had chalked out this Way of raising the Sums he wanted. The Archbishop of *Canterbury* being present, thought it his Duty to speak upon an Occasion wherein the Interest of the whole Body of the *Clergy* was at Stake. He represented to the King, that altho' the *Ecclesiasticks* served him not in Person, yet could it not be inferred from thence, that they were unserviceable, since they sent into the Field their *Vassals* and *Tenants* whenever there was Occasion: That the stripping the *Clergy* of their Estates, would be a Means to put a Stop to the *Prayers* which they offered Night and Day to God for the Welfare of the *State*; and that there was no expecting God would afford his Protection to the Kingdom, if the *Prayers* of the *Church* were so little valued. He added, with a menacing Tone, that if these Considerations were not capable of diverting the Plot against the *Clergy*, it would not be found an easy Matter to deprive them of their Estates without exposing the Kingdom to great Risks, and that as long as he should be Archbishop of *Canterbury* he would oppose it to the utmost of his Power. Then falling on a sudden on his Knees to the King, he pressed him strongly on the Score of *Conscience*, endeavouring to make him sensible that of all the Crimes a Prince could commit, there was none of so deep a Dye as the invading the *Clergy's* Revenues. Whether *Henry* was moved with the Archbishop's Speech, or whether the strong Opposition he foresaw from the *Clergy*, convinced him that he should find it a hard Task to compass his Design, he suddenly resolved to give it over. He answered the Archbishop, that although he blamed not his Zeal, yet he could not help saying, that his Fears were groundless; that when he mounted the Throne, he had made a firm Resolution to favour the *Church* as far as in him lay, and he hoped by God's Grace to leave her in a better State than he found her. The Archbishop encouraged by this Reply, turned to the *Commons*, and spake to them in a manner not very proper to gain their Good-Will, telling them that their Demand was

1404.

The Arch-
bishop of
Canterbu-
ry opposes
it.

The King
yields to
his In-
stances

1404.
The Commons per-
sist in it.

The Bill
thrown
out by the
Lords.

A&C. Pub.
VIII. 381.

1405.

Mortimer's Chil-
dren car-
ried away
from
Windfor.

built wholly on *Irreligion* and *Avarice*. The *Commons* made no Answer to this offensive Speech; but when they came back to the *House*, they resolved to persist in their Demand, and brought in a *Bill* to seize the *Clergy's* Revenues. But there was no possibility of getting it passed. The Sollicitations of the Archbishop and of the rest of the *Clergy* were so prevalent with the Lords, that they threw out the *Bill*. So that the *Commons* were oblig'd to find other Ways and Means to supply the King's Occasions.

Towards the latter End of this Year, *Innocent VII* notified to the King his Promotion to the *Papal* Throne.

It is not at all strange that to the great Number of Enemies *Henry* had both at Home and Abroad, he should be unwilling to add the *Clergy*, who, as the Archbishop had threatened, would have had it in their Power to create him much Trouble. Though in Appearance all was quiet in the Kingdom, yet he discovered about the Beginning of the Year 1405, that some ill Design was brewing against him; however he could not find out the Authors.

The Earl of *March* had pretty well concealed his Disgust when *Henry* was placed on the Throne: But the League he had made with *Glendour* and the Earl of *Northumberland* was enough to open the King's Eyes, supposing he had suffered himself at first to be deceived by his Dissimulation. He was too jealous of the Crown he wore, to believe the Earl was unmindful of his just Right. For this Reason he had always refused to take any Step towards procuring his Liberty. Upon the same Account it was that he kept in safe Custody at *Windfor* his Children, that they might serve as Sureties for their Father's Good Behaviour. Notwithstanding all his Care, some Body found Means to carry off the Prisoners, and keep them concealed for some Time. But the King had them searched after so diligently, that they were found at length and brought back to their Confinement at *Windfor*. He would have severely punished this Attempt, if he could have discovered the Authors; but all his Endeavours were to no Purpose. There was only a poor Lock-Smith hang-
ed for having a Hand in it; but he would not discover who
they

they were that set him on work. The Duke of *York* being suspected, was taken up and sent to the Castle of *Pevensey*, where he remained a Prisoner above three Months. But as last he was released for want of sufficient Evidence against him.

This Attempt made the King apprehensive that his Enemies would form some fresh Plot in favour of the Earl of *March*, and he imagined that before it broke out they had resolved to set these young Princes at Liberty. As *Glendour* was ever ready to countenance the Malecontents, *Henry* to rid himself of his Fears, resolved to exert his utmost to destroy that Rebel. To that End, he gave the Command of an Army to *Henry* his eldest Son, who in the Beginning of the Campaign came to an Engagement with the *Welsh*, and put their Army to Flight. Two Months after, this Victory was followed by another and more important one, wherein *Glendour's* Son was made Prisoner. These two Defeats were not however capable of disheartening the *Welsh*. On the contrary, they made fresh Efforts in Defence of their Liberty. The Situation of their Country, the Assurances *France* gave them of a powerful Diversion, and in all Appearances the Knowledge *Glendour* had of a Conspiracy hatching in *England*, put them in hopes of better Success for the future.

It was not without Grounds that the *Welsh* relied upon the Assistance of *France*. That Crown, or rather the Duke of *Orleans* who then governed the Kingdom, made no Account of the Truce every Time he thought the breaking it would turn to his Advantage. Notwithstanding it had been confirmed in 1403, *Mezerai* owns, the Constable *D' Albert* and the Earl of *Armagnac* had taken from *England* above Sixty Places in *Guienne*. This very Year the Duke of *Orleans* openly besieged *Bourg* and *Blaye*, but could not take them, and the Duke of *Burgundy* was preparing to lay Siege to *Calais*. To facilitate his Undertaking, the Earl of *St. Paul* attempted to seize upon the Castle of *Merck*; but the Garrison of *Calais* coming to its Relief, forced him to retreat in Disorder, though he was already Master of the Inner Court.

These

1405.
The Duke
of York is
apprehend-
ed.

Act Pub.
VIII. 386,
387.
Prince
Henry goes
against the
Welsh.
He gains
2 Battles.
March 11.
May 14.
p 390.

The Welsh
persist in
their Re-
volt.

France
daily seeks
occasion to
disturb
Henry.

1405.
The King
is denied
Money by
the Nobles
and Cler-
gy.

These continual Breaches of the Truce made *Henry* very sensible what he was to expect from *France*, in Case his Affairs took an ill Turn in *England*. For this Reason he was desirous to put an End to the War with *Wales*, before he showed his Resentment against the *French*, chusing rather to let them go on in their underhand Doing, than give Occasion for an open Rupture. With this View he had sent against the *Welsh* the Prince his Son, who had been crowned with the above-mentioned Success. Before he entred upon this Expedition, he had assembled the Lords to desire of them an Aid of Money, being ashamed to ask the Parliament which had so lately granted him a considerable *Subsidy*. But the Lords had flatly refused to comply with the King's Request, without the Authority of the Parliament. The *Clergy*, whom the King likewise caused to be sounded, had answered with the same Resolution, not being willing to establish a Precedent of that Nature, lest it should be turned into a Custom. *Henry* extremely mortify'd with these Denials, had dismissed both the *Nobles* and *Clergy* with Signs of Displeasure, which showed that he would not let slip an Opportunity of making them feel the Effects of his Indignation. By this Means he furnished certain Lords with a Handle to hasten the Execution of a Design which in all Appearance had been formed some Time.

Conspiracy
framed by
the Arch-
bishop of
York.

Richard Scroop Archbishop of *York* being disgusted, and wanting to revenge *Richard*, who had raised him to that Dignity, had engaged several Lords in a Confederacy to dethrone *Henry*. The Earl of *Northumberland* was one of the Number, though the King had formerly pardoned him in the like Case, and by his interest in the *North*, had drawn the People of those Parts into the Confederacy. *Thomas Mowbray* Earl-Marshal, the Lords *Bardolf*, *Hastings*, *Falconbridge*, and several other Lords and Gentlemen came into the Plot, and levied a great Number of Troops, which they led to *York* where the Rendezvous was. As soon as these Forces, which made a considerable Army, were drawn together, the Heads of the Conspiracy published a *Manifesto* against the King, and caused it

to be fixed upon the Doors of the Churches in *York*, that every one might see it. The Substance of the Articles contained in the *Manifesto*, was as follows :

1405.

I. That *Henry* upon his Return to *England* had protested and sworn, that he was only come to recover his Estate, and that he had no Design upon the Crown, and yet he had caused himself to be crowned King. *The Rebels Manifesto.*

II. That as an Arch-Traitor he had imprisoned his Sovereign, and forced him to resign his Crown, and then barbarously murdered him.

III. That after the Death of *Richard*, he unjustly detained the Crown from *Edmund Mortimer* Earl of *March*, to whom it lawfully belonged.

IV. That he had unjustly put to Death several Persons of Quality, who were guilty of no other Crime than endeavouring to redress the Male-Administration of the Government, and that contrary to Law, he had imprisoned the Bishops by his sole Authority.

V. That he had oppressed the People with needless Taxes, and by his Threats had hindered them from complaining.

VI. That he had violated the Privileges of the Nation, and his Oath to maintain them, by taking away the Freedom of electing Members of Parliament.

VII. That at a Parliament held at *Winchester*, he had given his Assent to a very pernicious *Statute* against the *Roman Church*, and the Authority conferred upon *St. Peter* and his Successors : That therefore *Simony*, *Perjury*, and other Disorders had crept in among the *Clergy* as well as *Nobility*, who sold the vacant *Benefices* to Persons unqualified to serve the *Cure*.

VIII. That notwithstanding the frequent Instances of several Lords of his *Council*, he had refused to pay the Earl of *March's* Ransom, and shifted off his just *Petition*, by falsely charging that Prince with having voluntarily yielded himself a Prisoner to the *Welsh*,

IX. That upon all these Accounts they had taken up Arms, with design to free the Nation from the Oppressi-

ons

1405. ons of this Tyrant, and place the lawful Heir on the Throne.

The Earl of Westmorland seizes the Heads of the Conspiracy by Fraud.

Some time before the King had Intelligence of this Rebellion, he had ordered a Body of Troops to march into the North, under the Command of *Ralph Nevil Earl of Westmorland*, to make Head against the Scots, who seemed willing to renew the War. The Earl was already just by *York* when he heard the News of the Insurrection. The Superiority of the Troops of the Rebels not permitting him to advance any farther, for fear of engaging in an unequal Fight, he thought it more proper to use Policy. To that End, he dispatched a trusty Messenger to the Archbishop of *York* and the Earl-Marshal, to tell them from him, that considering their great Prudence and Zeal for the publick Good, he did not question but weighty Reasons had induced them to take up Arms, and desired them to impart them to him. The Confederates thinking him already shaken in his Loyalty, sent him word that they had no other Intention than to procure the Good of the Kingdom, and intreated him to come and join with them in the Defence of the Publick. This Answer made him judge that it would not be impossible to over-reach Persons who thought him capable of so readily taking their part. To keep them in this Belief, he told them by the same Messenger, that he was not so blind but he could see the Injuries which were done the Nation: However, he was afraid that they had been too hasty in their Proceedings: That before all things they should have taken care to make sure of the Concurrence of all the principal Lords, or at least of the greatest Part: That as for himself, he could not communicate to them all his Thoughts by a Third Person; but if they would agree to an Interview, he would more freely open his Mind to them. The Archbishop of *York* no longer doubting but the Earl was privately of the same Sentiments with the Confederates, pressed the Earl-Marshal to go with him to the Interview, and notwithstanding his backwardness, found Means to persuade him to it at last. The Place assigned for the Conference

being

being in an open Plain, and the Guards having advanced at an equal Distance on both Sides, the three Lords began to confer together. The Earl of *Westmoreland* protested that he had no less at Heart than themselves, the Welfare and Prosperity of the State, and that he approved of the Articles of the *Manifesto*, except a few things which he wished they would alter. Then he proposed certain Means to put their Design in Execution, which to them appeared very judicious, and fully convinced them of his Sincerity. As soon as he found he had gained their Confidence, he ordered some Wine to be brought, and they all three drank together. All the while he affected to take one, then another by the Hand, and to give them Marks of a sincere Correspondence. Finally, to show how much he confided in them, he commanded his Guards to withdraw, which they did immediately. This Frankness obliged the Archbishop and Earl-Marshal to send away their People likewise, being desirous to show no more Distrust than he. But hardly were their Guards out of Sight, when the others returned upon the Gallop, and before the Archbishop and *Mowbray* could be relieved, they were both carried away to the Royal Army. The Seizure of their Leaders threw the Confederates into so great a Consternation, that it was not possible for the Earl of *Northumberland*, who staid at *York*, to keep their Troops any longer together. So that every one shifting for himself, the Earl saw himself also under a Necessity to make off, and go and shut himself up in *Berwick*, of which Place he was Governour. Some time after, the King being come to *Pontfract*, the Earl of *Westmoreland* brought his two Prisoners to him, who were both condemned to lose their Heads. The Archbishop suffered Death with a great deal of Courage, and was honoured by the People for a Martyr, till the King, by his Authority, put a stop to their Superstition. From *Pontfract* the King went to *York*, the Inhabitants whereof he punished severely. Then advancing toward the *North* in order to besiege the Castle of *Berwick*, he took on the Road the Lord *Hastings* and *Falconbridge*, who met with the same Fate as the Archbishop and Earl-Marshal. Upon

Earl of
Northum-
berland
flies to
Berwick.

The two
Prisoners
beheaded.
Act. Pub.
VIII. 198.

Other
Lords exe-
cuted.

1405.
Percy and
Bardolf
retire to
Scotland.

the King's Approach, the Earl of *Northumberland* and the Lord *Bardolph* despairing of holding out a Siege, and dreading to fall into the Hands of a justly incensed Prince, withdrew into *Scotland* at the Lord *Fleming's*, who sheltered them at his House. Mean while, *Henry* became Master of *Berwick*, and several Castles belonging to the Earl of *Northumberland*, after which he marched back for *London*.

The French
land in
Wales.

Though Historians for the most Part ascribe the Rise of this Conspiracy to the King's threatening the *Clergy* and *Nobility*, upon their refusing the Aid he demanded of them, yet it appears that it had been formed before that Time. For whilst *Henry* was still in the *North*, the Marshal *de Montmorency* arrived in *Wales* with a Fleet of a Hundred and Forty Sail, on board of which he had embarked Twelve Thousand Men. As soon as he was landed he went and joined *Glendour*, and marching both together, they took *Carmarthen*, *Worcester*, and several other Places thereabouts, where they met with a great Booty. *Mezerai*, who places this Event in the last Year, says, that the Earl of *March*, of the House of *Bourbon*, caused the Undertaking to miscarry by his too long Delays. This makes appear, that the Court of *France* thought that their Army would be able to land in *Wales* just at the time the Archbishop of *York's* Plot was to break out. It may be the Preparations were begun the Year before, and that might occasion *Mezerai's* Mistake. It is much more probable he should be out in the Date of this Event than the *English* Historians, who refer to this Year the taking of their Towns, and the great Booty their Enemies got on that Occasion: Besides, we find in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, an Order from the King dated at *Pontfract*, which mentions the Descent of the *French*. It is true, in this Order their Leader is called *Hungerville*, and not *Montmorency*. But as there were not two Descents in the same Year, and in the same Country, it may be presumed that *Hungerville* made the Descent under the Direction of the *Marshal*.

Henry

Henry had no sooner finish'd his Affairs in the *North*, but he marched towards *Wales*, in order to defend the Borders against the *French*. But he was so retarded by the Badnels of the Weather, that they had time enough to re-imbark, leaving *Glendour* to come off as well as he could. However the King could do nothing against the *Welsh*, though deprived of the Assistance of their Friends, as well because the Season was too far advanced, as because in his March he had lost great Part of his Baggage.

1405.
The King
marches
against
them.

One would think that after so manifest a Breach of the Truce, the *French* had no Mind to keep any Measures with *Henry*, but design'd openly to renew the War. But that was not their Intention. As the Conspiracy in *England* had not succeeded as they wished, they did not think proper to carry the Rupture any farther. Mean while to join Insult with Outrage, at the same time that they just sent a powerful Aid to the *Welsh* Rebels, and their Forces had just taken several Towns, and ravaged Counties in *England*, they sent word to *Henry*, that their Intent was always to keep the Truce; as if bare Words were more proper to show the Sincerity of their Intentions than Facts directly opposite. This Behaviour was entirely grounded upon the vain Pretence of the private Quarrel the Duke of *Orleans* pretended to have with *Henry* for the Murder of *Richard II*, wherein he believed or feigned to believe, he might make use of the Forces of *France*, which he had the Disposal of, without any Violation of the Truce between the two Crowns. So that all the Complaints which *Henry* could make upon this Score were to no Purpose. Since in order to have Justice done him, he could apply to none but the Duke of *Orleans* himself, who was the principal Author of all these Breaches. The Court of *France* was so well acquainted with the Temper, Character, and Politicks of *Henry*, that they were not afraid to insult him upon all Occasions, during almost the whole Course of his Reign. *Henry V* his Son, was not so gentle, but knew very well how to be revenged for the Affronts his Father had received.

The French
Court's
Breach of
Faith.

1405. Towards the End of this Year, *Philippa*, the King's Daughter was sent to the King of *Denmark* her Husband (a).

1406. All being quiet in *England* after the Retreat of the *French*, the King call'd a Parliament which met *March 1.* 1406. As his Design was to demand Money, he readily gave his Assent to an *Act* to secure the Freedom of Elections with regard to Parliament-Men. This *Act* shows that in the Elections for the Parliament before, the King had done something which tended to the abridging the Liberty of Voting. As soon as this *Act* was passed, *Henry* demanded an Aid of Money: but he was plainly told, there was no visible Occasion for it. He was extremely offended at this Denial, but however durst not openly show his Resentment for fear of exasperating them. Mean while, he found out an Expedient which procured him what he wanted. This was to keep the Parliament assembled till they should of their own accord be brought to grant his Demand. So without any fresh Application, he continued the *Session* till the End of *August*. This was very inconvenient to the Members who had Business at Home, and withal very expensive for the People who were to bear their Charges. At length, the *Commons*, impatient of returning to their Homes, voted him a *Subsidy*, not without murmuring very much at the Constraint laid upon them.

The Par-
liament
meets.
Act for
freedom of
Elections.

The Par-
liament
denies the
King Mo-
ney. He
keeps the
Houses as-
sembled
till they
grant it.

An Act
excluding
the Women
from the
Crown.

Reflection
on that
Act.

During this *Session*, the Parliament passed an *Act* limiting the Succession of the Crown to the King's Male-Issue, exclusive of the Female. As this *Act* was repealed this same Year, and as probably it was razed out of the *Parliament Rolls*, one can only guess upon what Foundation it was built. What might, in all appearance, serve the King for Pretence to demand so extraordinary an *Act*, was This.

During the whole Course of the Dominion of the *Saxon* Kings, or at least since the Union of the *Seven Kingdoms*, we do not find a single Instance of the Descendents of the Women being called to the Succession of the Crown. From the *Norman Conquest*, to the time I am speaking of, we meet in the *English History* with two *Precedents* in favour of the

(a) According to *Pontanus* the Nuptials of *Eric* with *Philippa* were not celebrated till the 25th of *October*, 1406.

1406.

the Women. The First is the Example of King *Stephen* Son of a Daughter of *William the Conqueror*, to which may be added at the same time, that of *Matilda*, Daughter of *Henry I*, who disputed the Crown with *Stephen*. The second Instance is that of *Henry II*, Son of *Matilda*, who was acknowledged for King without Opposition. These two *Precedents* seemed to establish the Right of the *Females* beyond all Dispute: And yet they had their Objections. It might be alledged that *Stephen* ascended the Throne purely by the Cabals of some of the *Nobility*, and that *Henry II*, received not his Crown but by Virtue of a Treaty which he extorted from his Predecessor by Force of Arms. It might moreover be objected, that as there was no express Law upon this Head, two Instances ever since the Beginning of the Monarchy could not have the Force of a Law, especially considering the Circumstances they were attended with. Thus the Right of the Women and their Issue might at least be liable to some Dispute.

When *Henry IV* mounted the Throne, he pretended to be the next Heir to *Richard II*, showing by that he made no Account of the Right of the Earl of *March* who was descended of the Female-Line. And indeed, supposing the Invalidity of the Women's Right, it could not be denied that *Henry* was nearer than the Earl of *March* who was set up against him. But this pretended *Invalidity* was a Question that had not been decided. Mean while the People were generally of Opinion that the Women had a Right to the Succession, since, without its being necessary to alledge *Examples* or *Precedents* in their Favour, it was enough that there was no Law to exclude them. Upon this Foundation the late Rebellion was rais'd, as appeared by the *Manifesto* of the Rebels. It is therefore very likely that in order to take away this Pretext from the Male-contents, *Henry* would have decided this Matter by an *Act* which, in excluding the Woman and their Issue, seem'd to insinuate that the present King had ascended the Throne pursuant to the Customs and Laws of the Realm. But *The Act is* this *Act*, which perhaps was extorted the same way as *repealed* the *Subsidy*, out-liv'd not the End of the Year. The next

1406.
Another
for the Wo-
men.

next Parliament which met in *December*, made such strong Remonstrances to the King upon that Point, that he consented to have it repealed. This Parliament, not satisfied with leaving the Right of the Women in the doubtful State it might be in before, passed a new *Act*, whereby the *Females* and their *Issue* were establish'd in their Natural Rights. The Succession was settled upon the King's eldest Son and his Heirs without Exception, then upon his Brothers and their Issue, without excluding the Women. This *Act* was sign'd by the King, the *House* of Lords, and the *Speaker* in the Name of all the *Commons*, the 2d of *December* 1406, as appears by the *Collection of the Publick Acts*.

The Precaution the King took to secure his Right by causing the First of these *Acts* to be passed, was extremely prejudicial to his Posterity. By that he gave Occasion for the *Second*, which strengthen'd the Rights of the Earl of *March*, and consequently of the House of *York*, which became Heir to that Prince.

Negotiation for delivering the Earl of Northumberland to the King.

Whilst the Parliament, which passed the first of these *Acts* continued sitting, in Expectation of the King's dissolving it, *Henry* carried on in *Scotland* a secret Negotiation, about the delivering up of the Earl of *Northumberland* and the Lord *Bardolf*, who had taken Refuge there. He could not be at rest on account of the former, whose Valour, Abilities, revengeful Temper were no less known to him than his great Interest in the *North*. As it was to be fear'd, that being so near those Parts he would contrive some dangerous Plot, *Henry* believed he ought to spare no Pains to make himself easy, by securing his Person. To that End he sent an Offer to certain *Scotch* Lords, whose Relations and Friends were Prisoners in *England*, to set them at Liberty without Ransom, provided they would deliver up the Earl of *Northumberland* and the Lord *Bardolf*. This Offer was received with Joy. But as there was no concealing the Matter from the Lord *Flemming* who had entertained these two Lords at his House, he acquainted them with it; whereupon they retired into *Wales*, under the Protection of *Glendower*. Some time after, the *Scotch* Lords, vexed at having missed their Aim, killed the Lord *Flemming* who was the Cause that

The Earl returns into Wales.

their

their Friends were still detained in Prison. Afterwards his Son having revenged his Death upon some of the Murderers, this Quarrel, joined to several other Occasions of Discord which reigned among the Great Men, under the Government of a very weak Prince, raised abundance of Commotions in *Scotland*.

*Robert III**, of the House of the *Stuarts* who sat then on the Throne of *Scotland*, was a Prince rather free from Vices than indowed with good Qualities. His easy Nature, or weak Capacity, had given an Opportunity to *Robert* his Brother Duke of *Albany*, to get into his Hands by Degrees the Government of the Kingdom, whilst he left the King his Brother little more than the external Badges of Royalty. His Ambition not being satisfied with a borrowed Power, he formed a Design to seize the Crown, or at least he took Measures to secure it to himself after the Death of *Robert*. To compass his Ends it was necessary to remove the Obstacles which he would infallibly meet with in the execution of his Designs from the Princes *David* and *James* his Nephews, the King's Sons. An Opportunity offered very quickly to get rid of the eldest. The Young Prince having committed some Outrage, of which Complaints were brought to the King, the Duke of *Albany* procured an Order from the King his Brother, to keep *David* in Confinement, till the Heat of his Passion should be somewhat abated. He executed this Order with such Rigour, that having shut up the Prince in a close Prison, he caused him to be starved to Death. How careful soever he might be to conceal this barbarous Action, *Robert* was informed of it: but being too weak and his Brother too potent, he durst not attempt to be revenged. The only Remedy he could apply to his Grief was to put *James* his second, now become his eldest, Son, out of the Reach of the Snares of his treacherous Brother. To that end he resolved to have him educated at the Court of *France*, that he might send him out of *Scotland*, where he was in such imminent Danger, and caus'd him to embark in order to go by Sea. The

1406.

Affairs of
Scotland.Prince
James con-
fined in the
Tower of
London.
Aft. Pub.
VIII. 484.

* He was call'd *John*, but by the Decree of the State his Name was chang'd to *Robert*. *Buchan*.

1406.

Death of
King Ro-
bert.

The young Prince sailing near the Coast of *Norfolk*, and finding himself Sea-sick, went on shore to take some Rest. But no sooner was he out of his Ship, but the People of those Parts seized him and brought him to the King, who was so cruel as to confine him in the *Tower*. In vain did the *Scotch* Prince give him a Letter from the King his Father, recommending his Son to him, in case any Accident should oblige him to land in his Dominions. *Henry* returned him no other Answer but a sorry Jest, telling him, *there was no Occasion to go to Paris to learn French, he should be taught it in London*. The King of *Scotland* died three days after he had received this bad News, and the Duke of *Albany* took upon him the Administration of Affairs during the Imprisonment of the young Prince, to whom the Crown was fallen.

The French
try in vain
to aid the
Welsh.

This Year the *French* came upon the Coast of *Wales* with Thirty-eight Ships in order to assist *Glendour*. But a violent Storm, which destroyed the best Part of their Fleet, hindered them from putting their Design in Execution.

1407.
Symptoms
of a new
Conspiracy.

It is very likely, that the Court of *France* had received some Intelligence of a Conspiracy forming in *England* against the King; and that it was with Design to counterbalance it that an Army was sent to be in a readiness in *Wales*. But the Dispersion of the Fleet probably caused the Project, which had not been well laid, to fall to the Ground. There were some Indications given of it in the Beginning of the Year 1407, by the Boldness certain Persons took to post up in several Places in *London* that *Richard* was living and preparing to enter the Kingdom with a powerful Army. What Inquiries soever the King could make he was never able to discover the Authors. There was only one poor Wretch, who was employed in fixing up the Papers, that was hanged without being able or willing to tell who set him on work.

Plague at
London.

This Year a terrible Plague raged at *London*, which swept away above thirty Thousand Inhabitants. The King not daring to stay at *London* whilst the Plague made such Ravages, retired to the Castle of *Leeds* in the County of *Kent*. After he had spent Part of the Summer there, he had

mind to remove to another of his Seats in *Norfolk*; and resolving to go by Sea, he went on Board a Vessel which was followed by four more with his Baggage and Attendants. Whilst he was sailing along in Sight of Land, without any Precaution, and believing he was in no Danger, he saw himself on a sudden attacked by some *French* Pyrates, who took four of his Ships; the Vessel he was in himself very narrowly escaping. There was no Question but some Treachery lurked under this Accident; but it was impossible to find it out.

1407.

The King is like to be taken by Pyrates.

The famous *Robert Knolles*, who had signalized himself in an extraordinary Manner in the Wars with *France* in the Reign of *Edward III*, died this Year in a very advanced Age. Though born of mean Parentage, he had raised himself by his Merit, and gained a Reputation equal to that of the most illustrious Warriors. In the Beginning of this Reign, he was *Seneschal* of *Guienne*; but being at length weary of a Life of too much Hurry and Action, he retired to his Estate in *Kent*. There he ended his Days, after having acquired a still more solid Glory by many Acts of *Piety*, *Charity*, *Munificence*, some of which are still in Being at this Day *.

Death of Robert Knolles.

Henry being sensible how ill-affected his Subjects were to him, stood so in Awe of them, that ever since his Accession to the Crown, he had not dared to send any Troops into *Guienne* for fear of weakening himself at Home. Mean while the *French* taking Advantage of his Negligence, became Masters from Time to Time of several Places in that Province, by bribing the Governours. They followed in this the Maxim introduced during the War between *Edward III* and *Philip de Valois*, that *Truces were for Trade, and the Purchase of Towns was no Breach of them*. This Year the Duke of *Orleans* endeavoured, notwithstanding the Truce, to take *Bourg* and *Blaye*, but without Success. On the other Hand, the Duke of *Burgundy* had

Designs of the French upon Guienne and Calais.

* He died at his Mannor of *Scene-Thorp* in *Norfolk*, and was buried with his Lady in the Body of the Church of the *White-Friars*, which he had newly built. He built likewise the stately Stone-Bridge at *Rocheſter*. *Dugdale Vol. II. p 412.*

1407.
Duke of
Burgundy
murders
the Duke
of Orleans.

formed again the Design of besieging *Calais*; but for want of having taken due Measures, durst not go on. He complained that the Duke of *Orleans* had privately thrown Obstacles in his Way. This Occasion of Complaint being joined to several others, which had made him conceive a mortal Hatred against that Prince, he caused him to be assassinated this Year in *November*. He was so hardy as to avow his being Author of the Murder, and powerful enough to get a Pardon, though the Deceased was the King's own Brother.

Truce with
Bretagne.
Act. Pub.
VIII. 490.

Though War was not proclaimed between *England* and *Bretagne*, the Attempts which were continually making on both Sides, could not fail to produce at length an open Rupture. The Duke of *Bretagne* was Son of a Father who had an *English* Heart. But the young Duke had sucked in at the Court of *France* other Inclinations and Maxims. However the Death of the Duke of *Orleans*, and the Troubles which were in *France*, having made the *Bretons* sensible, that they might be abandoned, in Case of a Rupture with *England*, they thought it their wisest Way to accept of a Truce offered them by *Henry*. The Truce was to be for a Year only, the *Bretons* imagining that they should be able to see by that Time how Matters would go in *France*, where all Things began to be in great Confusion.

1408.
A fresh
Attempt
of the Earl
of North-
umberland
against the
King.

Henry was not ignorant of the Views of the *Bretons*; but however thought it for his Interest to hide his Sentiments. Ever since his Coming to the Crown, he had stuck close to this Rule, that it was better to bear with some Things in his Neighbours, than to expose himself to the Insults of his Subjects. He could not help reflecting on the irregular Means he had used to ascend the Throne. The consideration whereof keeping him in continual Dread he chose rather to hazard his Reputation a little, than to furnish his Domestick Enemies, by engaging in Foreign Wars, with an Opportunity to execute their ill Designs. It was not without Reason that he lived in perpetual Apprehensions upon that Score. He had still in the Earl of *Northumberland* an Enemy, who humbled as he was, con-

tidious

tinued to be very formidable. Since that Earl and the Lord *Bardolf* had retired into *Wales*, they had never ceased contriving Means with *Glendour* to dethrone the King. The *Welsh*, who were in open War with *Henry*, went not privately to work in their Preparations. They strengthened their Army with great Numbers of *French* and *Flemish* Adventurers, which were drawn thither by the Prospect of the Booty promised them in *England*. On the other Hand, the Earl of *Northumberland* privately made sure of the Assistance of the People of the *North*, with whom he had all along great Interest, in spite of his past Disgraces. As soon as Matters were ripe, the Earl and *Bardolf* returned to *Scotland*, from whence they entered *England* by the *Northern* Counties. They were at the Head of some *Scotch* Troops which they had levied by the Connivance of the Duke of *Albany* Regent of the Kingdom. Upon their Appearing in the *North*, they that were ingaged before-hand, readily came and joined them, and their Army became in a few days very considerable.

1407.
He begins
with *Glen-*
dour.

He appears
in Arms in
the *North*.

As the King was not aware of this Insurrection, the Earl had Time to re-take the Castles which he had lost in the first Rebellion. This Success encourag'd him to enter *Yorkshire*. He was in hopes that when once he should be Master of that County, nothing would hinder him from joining the *Welsh*, who only waited his Orders to put themselves in Motion. Upon his entring *Yorkshire*, he published a *Manifesto*, containing the Motives which had induced him to take up Arms. They were much the same with those that were published in the former Rebellions. Mean while, as the King spent a great deal of Time in Preparations, Sir *Thomas Rokesby*, Sheriff of *York*, thought it his Duty to levy some Troops in a readiness against the King's Coming, and at the same Time to put some Stop to the Progress of the Rebels. The Earl of *Northumberland* judging it of the last Importance to disperse the Sheriff's Forces before they should be augmented, marched towards him, in Hopes that his Approach would be sufficient to put him to flight. But he found he had an Enemy to deal with that was not so easi-

He makes
a Progress

Publishes
a *Mani-*
festo.

The Sheriff
of *York*
raises
Troops.
Act. Pub.
VIII. 529.

The Earl
attacks
him.

1407. ly frightened. *Rokesby*, though much inferior to the Earl, stood his Ground, and fought with that Bravery and Succels, that the Rebels Army was entirely routed. The Earl of *Northumberland* was slain on the Spot, and the Lord *Bardolf* taken Prisoner, but so mortally wounded, that he died in a few Days. Their Heads being sent to the King, he ordered them to be set up over *London-Bridge*. Thus died the Earl of *Northumberland*, who from being the King's great Friend, became his bitterest Enemy. It was he that had contributed most towards placing *Henry* on the Throne, by the Readiness wherewith he joined him at *Ravenspur*, whose Example drew in all the rest of the Kingdom. But afterwards he made several Attempts to wrest the Crown from him. So it might be a Question whether he had done more for him than against him, if in an Affair of this Nature one single Rebellion did not outweigh numberless Services.

*The King
punishes
the Rebels.*

Henry being already upon the March, when he received the News of the Defeat and Death of the Earl of *Northumberland*, went on to *York*. He made some stay in that City in order to have the Rebels tried, of whom some were executed *. Others redeemed their Lives by large Sums of Money.

*The Earl
of Kent
attacks the
French
Pirates,
and is
slain.*

ibid.

p. 542.

*The Py-
rates all
put to the
Sword.*

Before the King set out from *London*, he had ordered a Fleet to be fitted out against the *French* Pirates, who for some Time had infested the Coast of *England*, and done great Damages to the Merchants. *Edmund Holland* Earl of *Kent*, who commanded the Fleet, went a long Time in quest of the Pirates to no Purpose. At length, having heard that they were retired to the Coast of *Bretagne*, to the little Isle of *Brabac*, which had been excepted by Name in the Truce with the *Bretons*, he went and attacked them in the Town of the same Name, where they had shut themselves up. In the first Assault he received a Wound of which he died in five Days. This prevented not his Troops from continuing the Siege and taking the Town, where they put all to the Sword.

The

* The Abbot of *Hales* being taken fighting on the Earl's Side, was hanged. *Speed*, Vol. II. p. 620.

The frequent Ratifications of the Truce not hindering the *French* from making continual Attempts upon *England*, *Henry* was forc'd at length to rest contented with concluding a new separate Truce for *Picardy* and *Guienne*, from the 30th of *September* 1408, to the 1st of *May* 1410. *Poitou* was expressly included, because the *French* denied that Province was to be reckoned as an *Appendix* of *Guienne*.

1408.
Truce for
Poitou
and Gui-
enne.
521, 557.

The *Schism* which commenced in 1308, by the double Election of *Urban* VI and *Clement* VII, was still on Foot to the great Scandal of *Christendom*. *Urban* dying in 1390, the *Cardinals* of his Party had chosen in his Room *Boniface* IX, who at first seemed very much inclined to put an End to the *Schism*. Whereupon the Court of *France* laboured heartily to bring *Clement* to be of the same Mind. But as he proved inflexible, the University of *Paris* was ordered to meet, and it was decided that in Order to put an End to the *Schism*, one of these three Ways was absolutely necessary. The first was, That the two Popes should resign. The second, That they should agree upon two *Umpires* to decide their Difference. The Third, That the Determination should be referred to a *General Council*. This Resolution being communicated to *Clement*, it vexed him to that Degree, that he died quickly after in 1394. As soon as the King of *France* had notice of his Death, he wrote to the *Cardinals*, desiring them not to proceed to a new Election. But as they guessed at the Contents of his Letter, before they opened it, they chose the Cardinal of *Luna* an *Arragonian*, who took the Name of *Benedict* XIII. Before the Election, they had all made a solemn Oath, that whoever was chosen, he should renounce the *Papacy*, in case it should be deemed necessary for the Good of *Christendom*. But *Benedict* being elected, dispensed with the Oath he had taken when a *Cardinal*. On the other Hand, *Boniface* IX dying 1404, his *Cardinals* had chosen *Innocent* VII, and he dying likewise the next Year, they had elected *Angelo Corario* a *Venetian*, who had assumed the Name of *Gregory* XII.

A Abrief
Account of
the Schism.

1408.

It would be too tedious to relate all the Evasions *Benedict XIII* and *Gregory XII* used to shift off the Resignation which each of them had sworn to make. They would both fain have had it believed that their Intentions were good, and yet they started continually fresh Obstacles to the Accommodation all *Christendom* wished for. In fine, the *Christians* Princes, tired with the shuffling Tricks of the two Popes, found Means to gain the *Cardinals* of both Sides, who in their own Name summoned a *General Council* at *Pisa* upon the 25th of *March* 1409.

1409.
Council of
Pisa.
Act. Pub.
VIII. 567.
Alexander
V. elected.

King's Pro-
clamation
in his Fa-
vour.
p 600.

The Pro-
gress of the
Lollards
alarm the
Clergy.

Wickliff's
Books con-
demned at
Oxford.

The *Council* being assembled, the two Popes were cited; and as they did not think fit to appear, were pronounced *Hereticks*, and guilty of *Perjury*, and deprived of their Dignity. At the same Time Power was given to the *Cardinals* to elect a Pope. They pitched upon *Peter de Candiâ*, who stiled himself *Alexander V.* Before the holding of the *Council*, *Henry* had writ to *Gregory* to admonish him to comply readily with the Method of Resignation. But his Letter having no Effect, as soon as he had notice of *Alexander's* Election, he issued out a *Proclamation*, enjoining all his Subjects to acknowledge the new Pope. It was believed that the scandalous *Schism*, which had lasted above thirty Years, was at an End; but the Obstinacy of *Benedict* spun it out some Years longer.

How scandalous soever this *Schism* might be, it did not beget in the *Clergy* of *England* so great Uneasiness as *Wickliff's* Doctrine. Although during this Reign the *Lollards* were used with great Severity, yet their Numbers continually increased. There were even at *Oxford* Doctors that publicly defended the novel Opinions as well in their *Disputations* as in their *Writings*. The Bishops being very much alarmed at it, obtained of the King an Order to the *University* to meet in *Convocation*, and examine the Books of *Wickliff*. As the major Part were still attached to the *old Doctrine*, his Books were condemned, and the *University* published a Decree, forbidding all her Members upon Pain of *Degradation* to preach or teach the *Doctrine* therein contained.

This

This Year the Truce with *Bretagne* was prolonged to the 1st of *July* 1411.

1409.
Truce with
Bretagne.

Henry could not be sure of enjoying any Tranquillity as long as *France* was free from Troubles. From thence proceeded the Rise of all the Commotions, as well of his own Subjects as of the *Welsh* and *Scotch*. The War which broke out in that Kingdom between the Houses of *Orleans* and *Burgundy*, turned greatly to the Advantage of *England*. In the first Place, *Castile* and *Scotland* the more readily concluded a Truce with *Henry*. Then the *Welsh* receiving no further Aid from thence, found at length that their pretended Prince was very far from being able to perform what he had promised them, and began by degrees to desert him.

1410.
Troubles in
France ad-
vantagious
to *Henry*.

Lastly, *Henry* had this private Advantage by it, that he became more absolute at Home, since he had nothing to fear from his Enemies Abroad. Though he had caused *Richard* to be deposed, for aiming at arbitrary Power contrary to the Laws, yet he himself made some Steps, which plainly showed he would not have been sorry to have it in his Power to govern with an absolute Authority. This was chiefly manifest in the Elections of *Members* of Parliament: By the Direction of the Court, certain Artifices were practised, as rendered the Freedom of Voting of no Effect, seeing the *Sheriffs* took the Liberty to return such *Representatives* as had not a Majority of *Votes*. This is a Thing of so fatal a Consequence, that one may venture to affirm, the Liberty of the *English* will no longer have a Being, than whilst the Privilege of freely electing their *Representatives* in Parliament stands inviolated. If once the Sovereign comes to chuse what *Representatives* he pleases, the Bounds of the *Royal Authority* will in the end be so vastly enlarged, that nothing but the mere Shadow of Liberty will remain. Of this we have seen a remarkable Instance in the Reign of *Richard II*. And it may farther be affirmed, that all the Kings of *England* which have enjoyed a more absolute Power than the rest, got it by this Way, I mean, by procuring such Persons to be elected as were devoted to them. When a Parliament is made up of such *Members*, it is no longer the King that is charged

Henry be-
gins to
break in
upon the
Parlia-
ment's Pri-
vileges.

with

1410.

with the Incroachments made upon the People's Liberty, but it is the Nation itself that voluntarily runs into Slavery; And if afterwards *They* are desirous to throw off their Chains, there is no Remedy to be had but by Force of Arms; and hence, by the way, has sprung the greatest Part of the *Civil Wars*, which have been so often kindled in *England*. The Parliament which met in *January* 1410, taking into Consideration the Consequence of the Steps the King had made, in order to over-rule the *Elections*, believed the redressing that Abuse required their first Care.

*Act against
false Re-
turns.*

At the Beginning of the *Session* they presented a *Bill* to the King, whereby it was enacted, that the *Sheriffs*, who should be guilty of making *false Returns*, should be *fin'd* a Hundred Pounds *Sterling* for every such Offence. The King would very fain have shifted off this *Act*, but as he could not do it without laying himself too open, and besides, having a Design to demand a *Subsidy*, he gave the Royal Assent to it.

*The King
demands a
Subsidy.*

Upon the passing this *Act*, the King demanded an Aid of Money of the *Commons*, who took occasion from thence to renew the Instances they had formerly made with regard to the *Clergy*. *Wickliff's* Doctrine had gained so much ground, that the Majority of the *House of Commons* leaned that way. Thus biased, the *Commons* presented to the King two *Petitions*, one against the *Clergy*, the other in Behalf of the *Lollards*. In the first they set forth, *that* the *Clergy* made an ill use of their Riches, and laid out their Incomes in a very different Manner from the Intent of the *Donors*: *That* their Revenues were excessive, and consequently it was necessary to lessen them: *That* so many Estates might easily be seized as would serve to provide for a Hundred and fifty *Earls*, at the Rate of Three Thousand Marks a Year each; Fifteen Hundred *Barons* at a Hundred Marks each; Six Thousand two Hundred *Knights* at Forty Marks; and a Hundred *Hospitals* at a Thousand Marks: *That* by this Means the Kingdom would be in a better State of Defence, the *Poor* more amply provided for, and the *Clergy* more mindful of the Duties of their Function.

*Petition of
the Com-
mons a-
gainst the
Clergy.*

In the second *Petition* the *Commons* prayed that the *Statute* enacted against the *Lollards* in the seventh Year of this Reign, might either be repealed, or at least altered in some of its Branches.

1410.
Another in
favour of
the Lol-
lards.

If the Parliament which first proposed the lessening the Revenues of the *Clergy*, was stiled *the unlearned*, it may well be supposed, this met with no better *Appellation*. The Name of *Lollard* and *Heretical* was plentifully bestowed, and the *Clergy* considered the *Petition* as tending to cut up *Religion* by the Roots. This they endeavoured to insinuate to the King with all the aggravating Circumstances which Parties concerned are capable of displaying on such an Occasion. It is hard to know whether the King was of their Mind; but however, he declared that he had the Interest of the *Church* no less at Heart than the *Clergy* themselves. After the Death of the Earl of *Northumberland*, there was never a Lord in the Kingdom which could give him any Uneasiness; and though the People were not over-pleased, *Henry* was very sensible that of themselves they would never be induced to rebel, unless spurred on by others: So that his Business was to keep fair with the *Clergy*, who alone had it in their Power to stir up the People, especially upon so plausible a Pretence as the stripping the *Church* of her Lands. For this Reason, he answered the *Commons* somewhat sharply, that he neither could nor would consent to their *Petitions*, and expressly forbid them to meddle any more with the *Church's* Concerns. As for the *Lollards*, he replied, that far from permitting that the *Statute* against them should be repealed, he wished rather the Rigour of it was heightened, that *Heresy* might be entirely rooted out of the Kingdom.

The King
rejects the
two Peti-
tions.

The *Commons* missing their Aim, were contented with moving, that at least *Clerks* convicted of any Crime, should not be tried in the *Ecclesiastical Courts*: They alledged as a Reason that daily Experience showed, *Clerks* by that Means always escaped the Punishment they had deserved. What the *Commons* demanded was no less reasonable at this time, than in the Reign of *Henry II*, when that Prince and all the Peers of the Realm disputed that Point so

Another
Petition a-
gainst the
Clergy re-
jected.

1410. strenuously with *Thomas Becket* and Pope *Alexander III.* But *Henry* apprehensive of being involved in the like Troubles as *Henry II.* was liable to, refused to give his Assent to this *Bill.* On the contrary, he affected to show an extraordinary Zeal for the Welfare of the *Church,* and to take such Steps as he thought most agreeable to the *Clergy.* Tho' it cannot be doubted but that *Wickliff's* Doctrine was the real Cause of the *Motions* made by the *House of Commons,* yet the King was pleased to let them see how far he was from countenancing them, by signing a Warrant for the burning of one *Thomas Badby.* The Prince of *Wales* had a mind to be present at the Execution, and, as the poor Wretch gave sensible Signs of the Torture he endured, ordered the Fire to be removed, and made him a Promise of a Pension for Life, provided he would recant. But *Badby* being come to himself, refused to comply with this Offer, and suffered Death with an heroick Courage.

The King orders a Lollard to be burnt. Walsing P. 378.

The Commons are offended, and refuse the King's Demand. The *Commons* looked on this Execution as an Insult, and as a great Aggravation of the Refusal they had lately met with. And therefore, when the King demanded that a Power might be granted him to levy every Year a certain *Subsidy**, though the Parliament should not sit, the *Bill* was resolutely thrown out. Nay the *Commons* would have refused to grant him Money for his necessary Occasions, if the same Method which succeeded so well once before, had not been taken to constrain them to it: That is, he prolonged the *Sessions* till he obtained what he wanted. It appeared plainly, that the Earl of *Northumberland* was no longer living; that the Troubles in *Wales* were almost at an end; and that *France* was not in a Condition to be feared, otherwise he would never have ventured to treat the *Commons* in so haughty a Manner.

He obtains a Subsidy by a kind of Force.

The Duke of Burgundy forms a Design to beseege Calais. Notwithstanding the ill Posture of Affairs in *France,* the Duke of *Burgundy* resumed his Design of besieging *Calais;* but with the same Success as before. All he had prepared at *St. Omer* for the carrying on the Siege, being burnt to Ashes

* A Tenth on the Clergy, and a Fiftieth on the Laity. Cotton's Abridgment, p. 472.

Ashes either by Accident, or by Means of a private Emis-
sary, sent on purpose by the Governour of *Calais*, this Pro-
ject vanished into Smoke like the former ones. The *French*
Historians make no mention of this Attempt. However
it seems, by the King's Precaution in sending at this very
time the Prince of *Wales* to *Calais*, that he had received
some private Intelligence of it. But however, the Truce
with *France*, for *Guienne* and *Picardy*, was prolonged for
some Months.

1410.

Truce with
France
prolonged.

This Year *Robert de Humphreville*, Vice-Admiral of
England, entered the Gulf of *Edinburgh*, and daily land-
ing his Men, now in one place, then in another, carried
off a prodigious Booty *.

The Eng-
lish ra-
vage Scot-
land.

The whole Year 1411. was spent in the several Nego-
tiations, which ended at length in prolonging the Truce
with *France* for five Years, with *Castile* till *February* 1413,
and with *Bretagne* for ten Years.

1411.
Truce pro-
longed.
Act. Pub.
VIII. 710.

These Negotiations need not to have any thing more
said about them, because we have already seen the Occasion
of them. But the Negotiation this Year with the Duke
of *Burgundy*, requires a little more insisting upon. To
that end it will be necessary to explain as briefly as possible,
how Matters then stood in *France*, on which depends a good
Part of the Occurrences of this and the two following
Reigns.

We have seen how *John* Duke of *Burgundy* assassinated
the Duke of *Orleans*, Brother of King *Charles* VI, and
that he avowed the Fact, and had Credit enough to procure
a Pardon. After which, he went into his Dominions in
Flanders, with design to restore to the Bishoprick of
Liege, the Brother of his Dutchess, whom the People of
Liege had expelled. Whilst he was making Preparations
for this War, the Dutchess of *Orleans* in Company with
her three Sons, of whom *Charles* the Eldest was not above
fifteen Years old, came and casting her self at the Feet of the
King her Brother-in-Law, demanded Justice for the Death
of her Husband. Though the Duke of *Burgundy* had

Affairs of
France.

* He brought away so much Corn, &c. that he brought down
the Prices of things, and thence was called *Mend-Market*.

1411. obtained a *Pardon*, his Adversaries taking advantage of his Absence, had Interest enough to have it revoked, and to cause him to be declar'd an Enemy of the State. He was then marching to the Relief of *Mastricht*, where the Men of *Liege* held their Bishop invested. Upon his Approach, they quitted the Siege: but being afterwards informed that the Duke had but sixteen Thousand Men, they resolved to go and attack him. Though their Army was three times as strong as the Duke's, they were put to Rout with the Loss of thirty Thousand Men. The Duke's Victory alarmed his Enemies in *France* to such a Degree, that not thinking themselves safe at *Paris*, where the Duke had many Friends, they retired to *Tours*, and took the King along with them. The victorious Duke preferring his Affairs in *France* to the War against the Men of *Liege*, who were pretty well humbled, put himself immediately at the Head of Four Thousand *Horse*, and came to *Paris* where he was received in Triumph. Upon his Arrival, he got the People of *Paris* to send Deputies to the King, praying him to return to the City. *Charles*, who was then in one of his *Intervals*, thought it not proper in the present Juncture to espouse the Side of the Enemies of the Duke of *Burgundy*. He repaired to *Paris* as he was desired, and forthwith put several considerable Persons upon making up Matters between the Duke of *Burgundy*, and the Sons of the Duke of *Orleans*, which was brought about, though with much Difficulty. The Dutcheß of *Orleans* died with Grief, to see the Murderer of her Husband triumphant; and the young Duke of *Orleans*, who was then but in his sixteenth Year, found himself obliged to be reconciled with his most mortal Foe. From thenceforward, the Duke of *Burgundy* held the Reins of the Government, the King, who relapsed often into his Fits of Madness, being too weak to be at the Helm himself.

A. & Pub.
VIII. 698,
699.

In the mean while, *Henry*, who had always in view the making a Peace with *France*, formed a Design to marry the Prince of *Wales* with one of the Daughters of the Duke of *Burgundy*, whom he saw so firmly established.

But

But whilst he was carefully thinking how to bring about his Project, such Alterations happened in *France* as made him perceive that this Alliance was not so certain a Means as he had imagined to attain his Ends. The Dukes of *Berri*, *Orleans*, *Alençon*, *Bretagne*, and the Earls of *Clermont* and *Armagnac*, having met at *Guienne* in *August* 1410, entered into a League against the Duke of *Burgundy*, and shortly after advanced near *Paris*. The Duke, having the King in his Power, opposed them with equal Forces, which made them sensible that the Execution of their Designs depended on a Battle, the Issue whereof must needs be doubtful. In all appearance, *France* itself would be ruined by a Battle which would be destructive to the Kingdom on which side soever Victory inclined, unless Means were found to accommodate Matters between the contending Parties. It was concluded, that the Duke of *Burgundy* should depart from *Paris*, that the confederate Princes should not enter there, and that none of the Heads of the two Parties should ever come to Court, unless sent for by *Letters* under the *Great-Seal*.

1411.

The Duke of *Burgundy* punctually observing this Agreement, retired into the *Low-Countries*; but the Duke of *Orleans* and the rest of his Party were not so scrupulous. After they had disbanded their Troops, they levied others, and approached *Paris* in hopes of enriching themselves with the Plunder of the *Metropolis* which stood firm to *Burgundy*. The Duke finding himself thus deceived, made an Alliance with the King of *England*, who believing it his Interest to support him, sent him a considerable Body of Troops. With these Succours the Duke marching into *France*, and passing through the Enemies Quarters, who were blocking up *Paris*, entered the City amidst the Acclamations of the People on the 30th of *October* 1411. From this time began the forming of the two powerful Factions of *Orleans* and *Burgundy*, the first of which received afterwards the Name of the *Armagnacs*, from the Earl of *Armagnac*, who became their Head.

Henry
aids the
Duke of
Burgundy.

Whilst

1411.
Parlia-
ment in
England.
Act of In-
demnity.
Glendour
is excepted.

His Affairs
go to decay.

Whilst *France* was embroiled in Troubles and Confusion, the Parliament of *England* meeting about the End of this Year, petitioned the King for a *General Pardon* for his Subjects. *Henry* readily complied with their Request excepting only *Glendour* and his Adherents. This plainly shows that *Glendour* was still living, though most Historians say he died in 1409. It is true, after the Death of the Earl of *Northumberland*, his Affairs were gone to decay. The *Welsh* seeing he was little able to perform what he had promised, had by degrees deserted him. He was even apprehensive, they would make some attempt upon his Life, or deliver him up to the King. His Fears having induced him to conceal himself, he passed the Residue of his Days in some unknown Place. So it is no wonder that the Time of his Death is unknown. However that he lived till the Year 1417 is certain.

1412.
Continu-
ation of the
Troubles in
France.

Henry
thinks of
taking Ad-
vantage of
them.

The Affairs of *France* were embroiled more and more by the mutual Hatred of the Two Factions, who made no Scruple of sacrificing the Good of the Publick to their private Animosity. Hitherto *Henry* had but too much Reason to dread some Mischief from that Quarter. If the Dissentions of the Princes of the Blood had not hindered those that were at the Helm of Affairs, during the King's Illness, from effectually supporting the Male-contentants in *England*, it is exceeding probable that he would have been driven to great Streights. But when he saw the Animosity of the two Factions carried to the utmost Height, his Fears entirely vanished. He even began to think of Means of reaping some Benefit from the Comotions in *France*, as the *French* had scarce ever failed of taking an Advantage of the Insurrections in *England*. In this Respect one Side made no more Conscience of breaking the Truce than the other.

The Faction
of Orleans
sue to him
for Aid.

It was not long before *Henry* met with the Opportunity he was seeking. The *French* themselves offered him as fair a one as he could wish. The Dukes of *Berri*, *Orleans*, *Bourbon*, *Alençon*, the Earl of *Armagnac*, and the Lord of *Albret*, Heads of one of the Factions, finding they were unable to withstand the Duke of *Burgundy*, who had the King

King and all the Royal Family in his Power, came to a Resolution to strengthen themselves with the Assistance of the King of *England*. But as they were not ignorant that the Duke of *Burgundy* had been before-hand with them, in making an Alliance with *Henry*, they thought it necessary to break that Alliance, by offering such Terms as were capable of making *Henry* fall from the Engagements he had entered into with their Enemy. To that End they met at *Bourges*, where they agreed upon the Offers they should make him, which done, they sent Deputies to treat with him.

Hitherto the Duke of *Burgundy* had shifted off *Henry's* Proposal of matching the Prince of *Wales* with one of his Daughters. In all likelihood he had entertained other Views: But upon his being informed what was carrying on in *England*, he thought proper to press in his Turn the Conclusion of the Marriage. *Henry* pretended to listen with pleasure to his Sollicitation; but it was with Intent to procure the better Terms from the *Orleans-Faction* with whom he designed to make an Alliance. And indeed the Deputies having Notice of this Negotiation, insisted no farther upon any Article, but concluded the Treaty just as *Henry* would have it, on the 18th of *May* 1412.

The Duke of Burgundy tries to break the Measures of his Enemies.
Act Pub. VIII. 721.

By this Treaty the Confederate Princes were bound,

I. To give up to the King of *England* about Fifteen Hundred Towns, Castles or *Bayliwicks* which they had in *Guienne* or in *Poitou*.

Treaty between Henry and the Orleans Faction.
p. 738.

II. To conquer for him what remained of these two Provinces in the Hands of the *French*, and to restore to him *Guienne* and its *Appurtenancies*, in the same State and Extent as his Predecessors had formerly enjoyed it.

III. The King allowed, that the Duke of *Berry* should hold *Poitou* for his Life, on Condition he did him Homage and delivered up *Poitiers*, *Niort* and *Lusignan*: As for the rest of the fortified Towns in that Province, he should place such Governours in them as would bind themselves by Oath to give them up after his Death to the King of *England*. The Duke of *Orleans* was to have the Duchy

1412.

of *Angoulême* upon the same Terms, and the Earl of *Armagnac*, certain *Castlewards* in *Guienne*.

IV. The King was bound on his Part to lend the Princes an Aid of a Thousand Men at Arms, and Three Thousand Archers, who were to go to *Blois* where they should be received by the Princes, and paid in Hand according to the *Pay* agreed upon.

Prince
Thomas
commands
the Succours.
p. 743.
is made D.
of Clarence.
p. 757.

The Treaty being ratified, *Henry* gave the Command of the Succours to *Thomas* his second Son, whom a few days after he created *Duke of Clarence*. He sent with him in this Expedition the Duke of *York*, and *Thomas Beaufort* High-Admiral of *England*. These Succours sat out in *July*, and it appears by several Pieces in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, that the King was preparing to go in Person to *Guienne*, in order to take Possession of what had been promised him.

He arrives,
and finds a
Peace concluded.

But whilst they were employed in *England* in getting ready these Troops, Affairs in *France* had taken a new Turn. The Duke of *Burgundy* improving the Advantages he had over his Enemies, kept them close besieged in *Bourges*, and had brought the King along with him. Though the Besieged made a vigorous Defence in Hopes of the Succours which were coming from *England*, they would have found it perhaps a hard Matter to hold out, if the Duke of *Burgundy* had not thought proper to make an Offer of Peace. He was afraid of the Arrival of the *English* Troops, and the Confederates had reason to apprehend they would not come soon enough. These different Fears having rendered both Sides more tractable, the Peace rendered by the Duke of *Burgundy* was accepted without Hesitation, and at the same time proclaimed.

In the mean time the Duke of *Clarence* having landed in *Normandy*, was advancing towards *Blois* with all possible Expedition, without committing any Hostilities upon the Countries he marched through. But when he was informed that the Confederates had concluded a Peace, he considered *France* as an Enemy's Country, and made great Ravages as he passed along. It was the Business of the Duke

of Orleans Head of the Faction which had drawn him into France, to see to make him Satisfaction. But as he had no Money to pay what was already become due to the English, he was forced to give him the Earl of Angoulême his Brother in Hostage. On the other hand, the Duke of Clarence, finding himself in the Midst of an Enemy's Country with a small number of Troops, and not without apprehension that the two Parties would join against him, did not think fit to stand off. He only stipulated that he should have leave to lead his Troops into Guienne, where they served to recover some Places by the Help of the Earl of Armagnac and the Lord d'Albret, who were not pleased with the Peace. 1412. He retires into Guienne.

This Affair being over, Henry enjoyed a profound Tranquillity. He had nothing to fear from France, which by intestine Divisions was become unable to hurt him. The Welsh sought only to make Peace; and the Regent of Scotland content with seeing the King his Nephew in the Hands of the English, minded only his own private Concerns. In fine, the Malecontents which might be left in England being no longer supported by foreign Princes, sat down in quiet. Henry made a good Use of these peaceable Times, in wiping out the ill Impressions which his Severity and Proceedings with respect to the Parliament, had made in the Minds of his Subjects. He affected Popularity, and endeavoured by all Sorts of Means to convince the World, he thought of nothing less than the stretching the *Prerogative Royal*. His Endeavours were crowned with such Success, that in spite of the Rigor he had exercised upon his Enemies, and the many Rebuffs he had given the *House of Commons*, he was deemed a Prince of Generosity, Mildness, and Moderation. What was heretofore considered as an Effect of his cruel and revengeful Temper, was now very readily attributed to pure Necessity and the Circumstances of his Affairs. It was doubtless the latter Behaviour of this Prince which made Historians give him such Commendations, as we find no Ground for in the former Actions of his Life. This Instance shows how easy it is for a Sovereign to efface the hard Thoughts his Subjects

1412. shall have entertained of him, provided he has Sense or Good-Fortune enough to perswade the World he sincerely intends to reform his Conduct.

Excesses of
the Prince
of Wales.

He gives
a Judge a
Blow on
the Face.

The King
grows Sus-
picious of
the Prince.

Whilst *Henry* was endeavouring to regain his Reputation, which had been somewhat sullied since his Accession to the Throne, the Prince of *Wales* was entirely destroying His, by daily abandoning himself to Riot and Debauchery. Though he was naturally of a Great and Generous Spirit, he suffered himself to be corrupted by Persons who, to serve their own Ends, flattered his vicious Passions, and diverted him from the Paths of Virtue. His Court was the Receptacle of *Libertines, Debauchees, Buffoons, Parasites* and others of the like Stamp. Nothing was talked of but the riotous and extravagant Pranks of the Prince or his Companions. Such a Behaviour in a Prince who was one Day to sit on the Throne, made People very thoughtful, who could not help dreading the Consequences. However, in the midst of these Apprehensions, a Ray of Hope was seen to shine, in an Instance of Moderation given by the Prince, when there was the least Prospect of any such thing. One of his Favorite-Companions having been arraigned for *Felony* before the *Chief-Justice*, he resolved to be present at the Trial, with design to over-awe the Judge. But his Presence not having prevented the Criminal from being condemned, he was so transported with Passion that he struck the Judge over the Face. The *Chief-Justice* thus affronted, weighing the Consequences of such an Action, without regarding the Quality of the Offender, commanded him to be arrested on the Spot and committed to Prison *. Then was seen, contrary to the Expectations of All, the Prince quiet as a Lamb, submitting without the least Murmur to the Judge's Sentence, and suffering himself to be led to Prison without Resistance, like a mere private Person.

The Courage of the Judge and the Modesty of the Prince were equally pleasing to the King. Nevertheless *Henry*, who was excessively jealous of his Crown, could not

* The Judge who committed the Prince was Sir *William Gascoigne* of *Harewood-Castle, Yorkshire*. Camb.

not help giving ear to some People who intimated to him that his Son had ill Designs against him. The Thoughts of this making him extremely uneasy, he would perhaps have been carried to some extravagant Action, in order to avert the Danger which he imagined hung over his Head, had not the Prince took Care betimes to remove his Suspicions. As soon as he was informed of the King his Father's Thoughts of him, he sent and desired a private Audience; and having obtained it, he cast himself at his Feet, and said, " Sir, I am told that you have entertained a Suspicion of me injurious to my Honour, and to the Reverence and Veneration I have for your Person. It is true, I freely own it, I have been guilty of some intemperate Sallies which deserve your Indignation. But I never had the least Thought of attempting any Thing against your Person or Government. They that dare charge me with so monstrous a Crime, seek only to disturb your Quiet and mine. It is in order to clear myself of this Imputation that I have taken the Liberty to come and throw my self at your Feet, humbly intreating you to cause all my Actions to be as narrowly and closely examined, as if I was the meanest of your Subjects. I am ready to undergo this strict Scrutiny, well knowing you will be fully satisfied of my Innocence". The King seeing with what Frankness the Prince offered to vindicate himself, grew perfectly easy upon his Account, and restored him to Favour.

In the Beginning of the Year 1413, Henry was seized with a Distemper, which in three Months Time laid him in his Grave. *Mezerai* says, it was the Leprosy. Others affirm it was a sort of Apoplexy, which had frequent Returns, and threw him into Fits which took away his Senses. However this be, his Distemper, which came upon him at several Times, lasted near three Months, and then killed him. A certain Person having formerly told him that he should dye at *Jerusalem*, he called to Mind the Prediction, and verily believed that God would make use of him as his Instrument to wrest that City out of the Hands of the *Infidels*. Thus perswaded, he fancied his Death was

1412.

He vindicates himself.

1413.
The King is seized with a dangerous Distemper.

1413.
He takes
the Cross
to go to
Jerusalem.

He always
kept the
Crown on
his Pillow.

The King's
last Fit.

He is car-
ried into
the Jeru-
salem-
Chamber.

His last In-
structions
to his Suc-
cessor.

not so nigh, and thought it his Duty to dedicate the Remainder of his Days to that glorious Expedition. He took the *Cross*, and having called a great Council, communicated his Design to them, and ordered all Things to be got ready with Speed for his Voyage. But presently after the Returns of his Distemper being more frequent than usual, he found that far from being able to undertake an Expedition of that Nature, he ought to employ all his Thoughts in preparing for Death. The Fear he had always been in of losing his Crown by Reason of the many Attempts to wrest it from him, increased with his Years. Every Time he went to Bed, he ordered it to be laid on his Pillow, least any one should seize it before he was dead. One Day being fallen into a Fit, which was so strong upon him, that all thought he had resigned his last Breath, the Prince of *Wales* took up the Crown and carried it away. Soon after the King recovering his Senses, and missing the Crown, asked what was become of it. Being told the Prince had taken it, he sent for him, and asked him whether he had a Mind to rob him of his Royalty even before his Death. The Prince replied, *He never had any such Thoughts, but believing him dead, he had taken the Crown as his lawful Heir, and the only Person that had a Right to claim it. Nevertheless he thanked God he saw him again recovered, and wished with all his Heart he might long live to wear it himself.* At the same Time he went and fetched it and laid it in its Place.

Henry's last Fit seized him in *St. Edward's Chapel* as he was at his Prayers before that Saint's Shrine. He was carried to the Abbot of *Westminster's* Lodgings which were nearer than his own. Where coming to himself, and finding himself in a strange Place, he asked where he was. They told him at the Abbot of *Westminster's* in a Chamber called *Jerusalem*. These Words bringing to his Remembrance the Prediction which had formerly been told him, he laid aside all Thoughts but those of Death. Before he expired, he sent for the Prince his eldest Son, and gave him many excellent Instructions, amidst which he could not forbear showing some Doubts concerning his Right to the

the Crown he had worn. He told him also, he was afraid the Duke of *Clarence* his Brother would give him some Disturbance in the Possession of the Throne. It is not known, whether these Fears were grounded upon the restless Temper of his second Son, or whether he had entered into some Engagements with him, at the Time he had conceived a Suspicion of his eldest. Be this as it will, the Prince made answer, that being his lawful Heir, he would endeavour to keep the Crown by the same Methods he had himself preserved it during his Life. As for the Duke of *Clarence*, if he behaved as he ought, he should always find in him a kind Brother; but if he pretended to do otherwise, he knew how to make him return to his Duty. The King said nothing more, except that he recommended him to the Protection of Heaven. A few Moments after he breathed his last, on the 20th of *March* 1413, in the Forty-sixth Year of his Age, having reigned thirteen Years, five Months, and one and twenty Days *.

He dies.

Historians for the most Part have endeavoured to give of this Prince an *Idea* which in my Opinion suits not with him. They speak with Praise of his *Mildness*, *Clemency*, *Generosity*, *Valour*, and abundance of other good Qualities, which shine brighter in their *Writings* than in his *Actions*. If he had gained some Reputation whilst a private Person, it does not appear that he did any Thing to increase or maintain it, after he came to the Throne. His distinguishing Character was an extreme Jealousy for the Crown which he had acquired by Ways not approved of by all the World, and for the Preservation whereof he had shed a Torrent of noble Blood. The Death of *Richard II* will be an indelible Stain to his Memory, tho' the Usurping the Throne could be justified. In short, he performed nothing remarkable which can afford Matter for Panegyrick. His Expeditions into *Scotland* and *Wales* have nothing in them which can redound to his Honour. If he happily got clear of all the Conspiracies which were formed against him, it was chiefly owing to the *Mayor* of *Cirencester*, the *Sheriff* of *York-shire*, and the Earl of *West-*
moreland.

*Character
of Henry
IV.*

* His Body was conveyed to *Canterbury*, and there solemnly buried.

1413.

moreland. The Battle of *Shrewsbury* wherein he vanquished young *Percy*, is the only notable Action in his whole Reign. His continual Fears of Insurrections, caused him to let slip several Opportunities of humbling *France*, and recovering the Provinces his Predecessors had lost. He even suffered many Insults from the *French*, *Scots*, *Welsh*, and *Bretons*, without showing much resentment. In fine, he employed all his Thoughts in preserving his Crown, and avoiding all Occasions which might indanger the losing it. This *Prudent Policy* ought to be the chief, if not the sole Theme of his Commendation, as it was the sole Motive of his Actions, wherein nothing appears to render him eminent. Though he had caused *Richard II* to be deposed for usurping an absolute Power, he plainly showed by his Conduct, that he had not so great an Aversion for that Crime as he pretended when it was his Interest to display it in its blackest Colours. It is true, towards the latter End of his Life, he seemed to have formed a Resolution to follow Maxims more conformable to the Nation's *Liberties*. But God was not pleased to allow him much Time to show the Effects of this good Resolution.

When I consider the excessive Commendations bestowed upon this Prince, I cannot forbear suspecting, that the Glory of having been the first *Burner of Hereticks*, and the Protection he afforded the *Clergy* against the Attempts of the *House of Commons*, were the main Springs of all these Praises. It is well known, the *Ecclesiasticks* are as zealous in praising their Abettors, as they are in blackening such as are not in their Interests.

Persons of
Note.

During this Reign the famous *Robert Knolles*, *William Wickham* * Bishop of *Winchester*, and *Richard Whittington* Mayor

William of
Wickham.

*So called from *Wickham* in *Hampshire*, where he was born in 1324. His Father's Name was *John Perrot*. After he had been bred at *Winchester* and *Oxford*, he returned to his Patron *Nicholas Wedal*, who had been at the Charge of his Education. He afterwards became known to *Edward III*, and having a Genius for Architecture, he was made Surveyor of the King's Buildings. His Direction for rebuilding *Windsor-Castle* gave great Satisfaction, and occasioned his Promotion at Court, where he passed through the Offices of Secretary.

Mayor * of London were eminent for Works of Charity and useful Foundations. 1314.

Geoffrey Chancer and *John Gower*, two famous Poets that flourished in this Reign, are generally looked upon as the first Refiners of the *English* Tongue.

Henry had by *Mary Bohun* Daughter of the Earl of *Hereford*, four sons and two Daughters, namely, *Henry* his Successor, *Thomas* Duke of *Clarence*, *John* Duke of *Bedford*, and *Humphrey*, who was created Duke of *Gloucester* by *Henry V.* his Brother. *Blanch*, the eldest of his Daughters, was married to *Lewis Barbatus* Elector of *Palatine*, and *Philippa* his Second was Wife of *Eric* King of *Denmark* and *Norway*. Henry IV's Issue.

of State, Privy-Seal, &c. He was preferred to the See of *Winchester* in 1367, and soon after made Lord Chancellor of *England*. 'Tis said being represented to the King as a Man of no Learning, and not fit for a Bishoprick, he told the King that what he wanted in Learning himself, he would supply with being the Founder of Learning. Accordingly he began the Building of *New-College* in *Oxford*, and laid the first Stone himself, *March* 5. 1379. It was finished in seven Years. In 1387, on the 26th of *March*, he likewise laid in Person the first Stone of his College at *Winchester*, which he designed as a Nursery for that at *Oxford*. Upon this Foundation he settled an Estate for a Warden, ten Fellows, two Schoolmasters, and seventy Scholars. He died in the Fourth Year of *Henry IV.* aged 80 Years, and lies buried in *St. Swithin's* Church in *Winchester*, in a stately Monument of his own erecting in his Life-Time. New-College founded.

* Among other Things he built *Newgate* in 1420, above half of *St. Bartholomew's-Hospital* in *West-Smithfield*, and the Library in *Grey Friars*, now called *Christ's-Hospital*.

King *Henry IV.* instituted the *Dutchy-Court* in Honour of the House of *Lancaster*, to the end the Lands belonging to the *Dutchy* might in all following Times be distinguished from the Lands of the Crown.

The End of the Reign of HENRY IV.



T H E
H I S T O R Y of *ENGLAND*

S E C T. II.

14. HENRY IV, *Sirnamed of*
MONMOUTH.

HENRY
V.
1413.
March 20.



HENRY IV not having had the Good-Fortune to be beloved by the *English*, his Death was not much lamented. The *Clergy* alone regretted his Loss, because in his Reign they had met with great Favour and Protection. But the rest of the People easily forgot a Prince, who after his coming to the Crown had done nothing memorable, and had shed more of his Subjects Blood than of the Enemies of the *State*. The very Peace the *English* enjoyed during the whole Course of his Reign, was not grateful to them. War would have seemed to them more beneficial, seeing a fairer Opportunity to recover what they had lost in *France*, had never offered. So in Hopes that the Prince his Son would give new Life to the Glory of the *English* Name, which seemed



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seemed as it were buried in Oblivion ever since the Reign of *Edward III*, they saw him with joy succeeding a Father from whom there was no room to expect any great Matters, though his Reign had been longer. At the present Juncture, *England* stood in need of an active and War-like King, who knew how to take Advantage of the Com-motions in *France*. On the other Hand, War was become necessary to dispel the ill Humours spread over the King-dom in the late Reign.

Henry of Monmouth, so called from the Place of his Birth, was exactly of the Temper the *English* wished him. He was naturally of an elevated and enterprising *Genius*. For which Reason the King his Father had always kept him at a distance from Affairs, his elevation of Mind being but too apt to breed Suspicion in a Prince so mistrustful as he. He had been a Student in *Queen's-College* in *Oxford*, under the Tuition of the Bishop of *Winchester* his Uncle, Chancellor of that *University*. Here it was that in his tender Years the Principles of *Honour* and *Virtue* were so care-fully imprinted in his Mind, that they could never after be effaced. In his very Youth he showed a strong Inclination for War, which increasing with his Years, the King his Father thought proper to indulge. At eighteen Years of Age, he commanded an Army against the *Welsh*, and gave them two Overthrows. But his Victories were of infinite Prejudice to him. The King his Father excessively jealous of his Authority, and dreading the Consequences of so noble a setting out, considered his Son's Reputation as likely one Day to become destructive of his Quiet. The Thoughts of this making him uneasy, he removed him from all War-like, as he had done from all *Civil*, Employments, for fear it should be out of his Power to check his Flight when once he should take Wing. Reduced to a State of Idleness, the Prince naturally active, sought how to employ himself. Unluckily for him, by the Instigation of some about him, and perhaps by the Direction of the King his Father, he ran into dishonourable Courses, and abandoned himself to Excesses, very unbecoming his Birth and injuri-

1413.

Education
of Henry
V.His war-
like Inten-
tions.Jealousy
of Henry
IV. a-
gainst his
Son.Cause of
the Prince's
wild Cour-
ses.

1413. ous to his Reputation *. In spite of all this, his good Disposition failed not to break out upon certain Occasions. The Moderation he showed in suffering himself to be led to Prison by Order of the Judge whom he had affronted, was a clear Evidence that the Seeds of Virtue were not wholly destroyed in his Mind by sensual Pleasures. Wherefore the King his Father, who was not ignorant of his Talents, was afraid of him, though one would think that a Prince drowned as it were in Pleasures, should not give him much Uneasiness. However, the People were not prejudiced against him. It is true, the Excesses he was guilty of now and then, might give them room to fear they should one Day be unhappy under his Government. But upon certain Occasions they beheld in him Tokens of Generosity, Virtue, Greatness of Soul, which afforded them the Prospect of a happy Change in his Person.

The People retain a good Opinion of him.

Henry V. proclaimed

Immediately after the Death of the King his Father, the Prince was proclaimed King, by the Name of *Henry the Fifth*. So far was any one from the Thoughts of disputing the Crown with him, that they who had been most against the Advancement of the *House of Lancaster*, were the first to pay their Duty to him. The Earl of *March* himself relying on his Generosity, came of his own accord and put himself into his Hands, to the end he might give him a convincing Proof of his sincere Intention not to disturb him in the Possession of the Throne. In fine, such Confidence did the *English* place in him, that contrary to Custom, they offered to take the Oath of *Allegiance* before ever he was crowned. But he declined in a modest and obliging manner the receiving that Testimony of their Esteem. He told them it was not reasonable that they should swear to be faithful to him, before he himself had taken a solemn Oath to govern them with Equity and according to *Law*. This Moderation, which charmed all the World, quite effaced the disadvantageous Impressions that his former

* He is said among other Pranks to lie in wait for the Receivers of his Father's Rents, and in the Person of a Highway-man, to set upon and rob them.

mer Course of Life might have given such as were not well acquainted with him.

The Ceremony of his Coronation being performed on the 9th of *April*, he granted that very Day a general Pardon for all Crimes, except Murders and Rapes. His first Proceedings plainly showed the Uprightness of his Intentions, and the Resolution he had taken worthily to fill the Throne to which he was raised. Before he applied himself to the Affairs of the *State*, he called before him all his old Companions, and having exhorted them to leave off that ill Course of Life they had led with him, he made them handsome Presents. But withal, strictly charged them, upon Pain of incurring his Displeasure, not to presume to come to Court. The Astonishment of these People, who expected quite other Things, was as great as the Admiration of the Witnesses of a Reformation which afforded so good a Prospect.

After the King had given this first Proof of his Wisdom, he continued, without ceasing, to give many others which could admit of no doubt. In the first Place, he made choice for his *Council*, of Persons of the greatest Gravity, Abilities, and Repute among his Subjects. Then he turned out some of the Judges, and put such in their Room, as to the Knowledge of the *Law* joined a perfect Integrity. He did the same with regard to inferior Magistrates, and took particular Care to fill the vacant *Benefices* with none but Persons of sound Principles, and known Merit.

Nothing remained to confirm the good Opinion all had conceived of him, but to show his Martial Virtues, and give some Proofs of his Piety. As to the first, he made appear during the whole Course of his Reign, that he gave Place to none of his Predecessors, as we shall have reason to be convinced hereafter. As to his Piety, it was not long before he became famous by two signal Instances. Indeed the first might be very ambiguous; but it was looked upon *then* as a most certain Sign, and the best Proof of the sincere Intentions of a Prince to promote the Glory of God: I mean the Condescension he had for the *Clergy*, in

He
c.
Act
IX. 2.

He dismisses his old Companions.

He chooses a Council.

He gives Proofs of his Piety.

14'3'
He re-
moves
Richard's
Body to
Westmin-
ster.

promising them to persecute the *Wickliffites* or *Lollards*. The other Mark of his Piety, was the Care he took to repair as far as lay in his Power the Injury done to *Richard II.* He ordered the Body of that Prince to be removed from the Abbey of *Langley*, where he was buried in an undecent Manner, to *Westminster-Abbey*, and laid near *Ann of Luxemburgh* his Queen. After he had performed this Duty, he founded three *Religious Houses* close by *Shene*, where the Soul of *Richard* was to be prayed for Night and Day.

His kind
Parlia-
ment.

The Parliament having been called some time before, met on the 15th of *May*, very well inclined to the new King; several *Statutes* were enacted, tending to the Preservation of the publick Peace, and of the *Rights* and *Privileges* of the People. *Henry* freely gave his Assent to all these *Acts*, and particularly to an *Act* to prevent Abuses in the Elections of *Members* of Parliament. The Conduct of *Richard II.*, and some Attempts of the late King in that Matter, rendered this *Act* absolutely necessary.

The Clergy
debate how
to root out
Heresy.

Whilst the Parliament was taken up with the publick Affairs, the *Convocation of the Clergy* was sitting under the Direction of *Thomas Arundel*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*. This Prelate, being extremely incensed against the *Lollards*, had obtained of the late King an Order to send *Commissioners* to *Oxford*, to take Informations concerning the *Doctrines* of the *Wickliffites*. The Business of these *Commissioners* was to discover the chief Abettors of this *Heresy*, and how it came to be spread over the Kingdom, especially in the Diocess of *London*, *Hereford*, and *Rochester*. At their Return, they brought what Informations they had taken to the Archbishop, who laid them before the *Convocation*. After several Debates, it was resolved, That there was no possibility of extirpating the *Lollard-Heresy*, unless care was taken to inflict exemplary Punishments on the principal Abettors of it: That among these, Sir *John Oldcastle* Baron of *Cobham*, was to be looked upon as the most considerable and dangerous: That therefore, as a Terror to the whole *Seet*, their principal Protector should be first taken to Task, and an *Action* entered against him for *Heresy*. But

They re-
solve to
prosecute
Oldcastle.
Act. Pub.
IX. .65,

as *Oldcastle* was the King's *Domestick*, and in great Esteem with him, it was thought that Method of proceeding might give Offence, unless they acquainted the King before-hand with the Matter, and got his Leave to prosecute the *Heretick*. The Archbishop taking this Affair upon him, waited on the King with Complaints against *Oldcastle*. He tried to persuade him, that *Fire* and *Faggot* were the only Means of extirpating *Heresy*, and that it was absolutely necessary for the *Church's* Interest, to proceed against *Oldcastle* according to the utmost Rigour of the Law. The King having calmly given him the hearing, replied, That he could never approve of using Force in reclaiming *Hereticks*, seeing Experience had but too often made appear, that rigorous Methods were as effectual against *Truth* as against *Error*: That he would talk himself with *Oldcastle*, and try to restore him to the right Way; and in case he could not succeed, he would then give leave that he should be prosecuted. Mean while, to give the *Clergy* some Satisfaction, he issued out a *Proclamation*, forbidding the *Lollards* to hold any *Meetings*, and charging his Subjects not to be present at their *Preachings*. A few Days after he was pleased to talk with *Oldcastle*; and finding him not to be moved, he no longer opposed the *Clergy's* Request.

1403.

*They ask
the King's
Leave.*

*His An-
swer.*

*Act. Pub.
IX. 46.*

The Archbishop having obtained the King's Leave, sent a *Summons* to *Oldcastle*, who refusing to own the Authority of the Bishops, made a Jest of the Citation. He would not so much as suffer it to be served upon him, so that they were forced to fix it upon the Church-door at *Rocheſter*. Henry provoked at his haughty Proceedings, ordered him to be apprehended and committed to the *Tower*. On the 28th of *September* the Prisoner was brought before the Archbishop, assisted by two other Bishops and several *Ecclesiasticks*. As they could get no Answers from him, but what were directly repugnant to the *established Opinions* of those Days, they pronounced him *Heretick*, and delivered him over to the *secular* Power. His Death would have immediately followed the Sentence of Condemnation, if, by the Help of his Friends, or Carelessness of his Guards, he had not found Means to escape out of Prison.

*The King
suffers Old-
castle to be
prosecuted.
p. 61.*

*He is com-
mitted to
the Tower.*

*and con-
demned.*

He escapes.

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1413. He went and concealed himself in *Wales*, where his Persecutors left him not in quiet, as we shall see hereafter. These are all the remarkable Particulars with regard to Domestick Affairs, that happen'd from the 20th of *March* 1413, to the End of *December*, the same Year.

*Necessity of
joining
here the
French
with the
English
History.*

I am now going to enter upon the Account of the War *Henry V* renewed against *France*: A War which had been on Foot ever since the Breach of the Treaty of *Bretigny*, though often interrupted by Truces in the late Reigns. In order to give a just Idea of the Motives which induced *Henry* to carry his Arms into *France*, it will be necessary to set before the Reader the State that Kingdom was then in: Without this, it would be difficult fully to understand the Sequel.

*Affairs of
France.*

Charles VI, afflicted with a Distemper which rendered him for the most part of his Time incapable of governing, had three Sons, namely, *Lewis*, *John* and *Charles*. The eldest, which bore the Title of *Dauphin* and Duke of *Guienne*, was a Prince of an indifferent Character. At Sixteen Years of Age he had already taken to a debauched Life; and moreover, was strongly possessed with Notions that led him to arbitrary Power, and hurried him into many Extravagancies. The Favourites he had about him indulged him in this Course of Life, and could not bear that he should be told of a Reformation, by which they would have been so great Losers. On the contrary, to prevent the Execution of a certain Project which had been formed for the better governing the Kingdom, and which had received the Approbation of an Assembly of the chief Men, they inspired their young Master with a Desire to hold the Reins of the Government himself, during the King his Father's Distemper. They intimated to him, that the Duke of *Burgundy* had no manner of Right to seize the Administration of Affairs, and that no body had any Claim to it, in Prejudice of the King's eldest Son, since he had exceeded the Time fixed by the Ordinance of *Charles V*. for the King's being of Age. Upon this Foundation they advised him to endeavour to thrust out the Duke of *Burgundy*, by seizing the *Bastile*, in order to hinder the

Parisians

Parisians from assisting him. This Project was executed shortly after, by Means of the Governour of that Fortrefs, whom the *Dauphin* had gained to his Interests. But he had not Reason long to rejoice at the Success of his Enterprize. Upon the first Rumour of it in *Paris*, the Citizens privately stirred up by the Duke of *Burgundy*, took Arms to the Number of Ten or Twelve Thousand Men. One Part went and invested the *Bastile*, the other under the Conduct of a *Surgeon* called *John de Troye*, came before the *Dauphin's* Palace, who not expecting this Insurrection, had no other Remedy but to appear at the Window, in order to try to appease them: But nothing was able to stop their Carreer. After having broke open the Doors of the Palace, they rushed into the Apartments and carried off above Twenty Persons, whom they accused of corrupting the Prince, and threw them into Prison. On the other Hand, the Governour of the *Bastile*, being seized with Fear, delivered up the Fortrefs to the Duke of *Burgundy*, who in spite of the *Dauphin's* Efforts, continued Master of the Government. In the midst of these Troubles which happened in *March* 1413. *Henry* IV died in *England*, and *Henry* V his Son ascended the Throne.

1413.

A. A. Pub.
IX. 51. &c.

Whilst the new King was busied in settling his Affairs at Home, the Troubles broke out afresh in *France*. At the End of *April* the *Seditious* took it in their Heads to wear *white Hoods* as a Badge of Distinction. *John de Troye*, at the Head of an armed *Mob*, brought one to the *Dauphin*, who durst not refuse it. The King himself happening to be in the Street as he was going to the Church of *Notre-Dame*, was obliged by the *Seditious* to take a *White-Hood*. But their Insolence did not stop Here. Two Days after, their Leader came to the Palace of *St. Paul* where the King lay. There, in Presence of the whole Court, he undertook to justify the Imprisonment of the *Dauphin's* Officers, and added, there were still in the Court a great Many more that equally deserved to be punished. At the same Time, without vouchsafing to hearken to the Intreaties of the *Dauphin* or of the King himself, he laid Hands upon a great Number of Lords and Ladies and carried them to Prison. *Lewis of Bavaria,*

1413. *Bavaria* himself, the Queen's Brother, was not spared. The King not being able to withstand the Torrent, was forced to consent that some of the Prisoners should be prosecuted, and to go to the Court with a *White-Hood* on, in order to inroll certain *Edicts* which the *Seditious* had demanded.

The *Dauphin* finding himself thus checked by the *Factions*, or rather by the Duke of *Burgundy* his Father-in-law, by whom they were privately guided, could not think of remaining in a Situation so opposite to his Temper, without making some Attempt to get free. The Heads of the *Orleans-Faction*, who had been forced to sign a Treaty whereby they were obliged to be at a Distance from *Paris* and the Court, were the only Persons he could expect any Assistance from. He contrived therefore a secret Negotiation with them; and the better to hide his Design, he went and conferred with them in Person, under Colour of bringing about an Accommodation between the two Parties, concerning some Breaches of the Peace of *Bourges*. After he had made a Combination with them, he managed it so that a Peace was confirmed, and by the new Treaty which was signed at *Pontoise*, the *Orleans* Party were allowed to go to *Paris* and pay their Respects to the King.

The Duke
of Bur-
gundy ap-
plies again
to Henry.
Act. Pub.
IX. 27.

July, p. 34.

Mean while, the Duke of *Burgundy* judging by the Attempt the *Dauphin* had already made, what he was to expect from him, had taken a Resolution to make sure of Help in case of Need. With this View, in the Month of *June* he had sent, as Earl of *Flanders*, an Embassy to *England*, where of *Ralph*, Provost of *St. Donas* of *Bruges* was Head, under Pretence of renewing the Treaty of Commerce between the *English* and *Flemings*. But in reality it was to propose an Alliance with *Henry*. This appears by a Commission which the King gave at the same time to the Bishop of *St. David's* and the Earl of *Warwick*, to conclude a personal Alliance between him and the Duke of *Burgundy*. There is hardly any room to doubt but from that time the Duke had formed a Design to make a League with the King of *England*. We shall see hereafter much plainer Proofs of this Matter. However this Design was not so speedily executed. Probably the Duke had no other

Intent

Intent than to secure the Assistance of the *English*, in case 1413.
he should be hard put to it, as he had done in the Reign of
Henry IV. Otherwise he thought there would be no Oc-
casion to press the Conclusion of that Affair.

Whatever his Design might be, *Henry* did not think *Henry*
fit to let slip so fair an Opportunity of keeping up in *France* *sends an*
Commotions of which he might take Advantage. To *Embassy to*
that End he sent shortly after Ambassadors to *Paris*. Their *Paris.*
publick Instructions were to call upon the Court of *France* *Act. Pub.*
to observe the Twenty-eight Years Truce better than had *IX 34. &c.*
hitherto been done. Secondly, to confirm that same Truce
or make a new One. Lastly, they had Power to decide all
Differences between *England* and *France*. In all likelihood,
one of the King's Motives, in sending this Embassy, was
to get perfect Information of the Posture of Affairs in that
Kingdom. But his chief Aim was to conclude with the
Duke of *Burgundy* the Alliance that Prince had proposed to
him. This evidently appears by a fourth Commission em-
powering them to sign an Alliance between him and the
Duke, and between their Respective Dominions. It is not
therefore to be questioned but the Provost of St. *Donas*
laid the Foundation of this Negotiation in his first Journey
to *London*. This was transacted in *July 1413*.

The next Month brought with it a great Turn in the *A new Re-*
Affairs of *France* much to *Henry's* Advantage. The *Or-*
leans Party, at the Head of which were the Duke of *Or-*
leans the King's Nephew; the Duke of *Berry* his Un- *revolution in*
cle; the Duke of *Bourbon*, the Duke of *Alençon*, the *the Court*
Earls of *Eu* and *Vendôme*, were come near *Paris*, pursuant *of France.*
to the Liberty given them. At the same Time, the
Dauphin, by his Intrigues, had gained to his Side vast
Numbers of the Citizens, who promised to stand by him.
Whereupon he ordered his Friends to take up Arms, and
scoured about the Streets of *Paris* at the Head of Thirty-
thousand Men. The Consternation of the opposite Party
was so great, that they quitted the *Louvre*, the *Town-*
House, and the *Bastile*, which they were in Possession of,
without offering to make the least Resistance. The Duke *The Duke*
of *Burgundy* perceiving it was not in his Power to stop the *of Burgun-*
Torrent, *dy retires.*

1413. Torrent, and dreading moreover the Arrival of the *Orleans*-Party, who were not far off, chose to retire into *Flanders*.

Edicts against him.

No sooner was he withdrawn, but the *Orleans-Faction* became uppermost at Court, without the *Dauphin's* reaping any Benefit by it. The King, being then in one of his *Intervals*, took the Government into his own Hands, and entertained so strong an Affection for the Duke of *Orleans* his Nephew, that he suffered himself to be wholly guided by his Counsels. The young Duke improving this Advantage, caused divers *Edicts* to be published against the Duke of *Burgundy*, and the Authors of the former Sedition to be prosecuted, several of whom were put to death.

Truce between the two Crowns. September. Act. Pub. IX. 56. First Demands of Henry.

Shortly after the Ambassadors of *France* and *England* meeting at *Lelingham* in *Picardy*, to negotiate a Peace, forthwith agreed that the Truce should be inviolably kept till the 1st of *June* next ensuing. During the Negotiation, the *English* Ambassadors gave to understand, that the King their Master expected that *France* should restore whatever had been taken from *England* since the Treaty of *Bretigny*. This was in effect the Ground of the War which was all along kept on foot ever since the Violation of that Treaty; and this Demand had nothing in it to be wondered at. However, the Court of *France* having been in hopes that after the Death of *Edward III.* the Kings of *England* would think no more of asserting their Pretensions, was extremely alarmed at this Declaration. The Posture of Affairs made them justly apprehensive of the Wars breaking out anew. So without Loss of Time were dispatched to *London* the Archbishop of *Bourges*, the Constable *D' Albert*, and *Col*, one of the King's Secretaries, under Pretence of endeavouring to make Peace, but in reality to sound *Henry's* Intentions. These Ambassadors arrived at *London* in *October*, and could obtain no more than the prolonging of the Truce for as much time longer as they should think proper.

Embassy from France. P. 60. P. 70.

Whilst

Whilst they were in *England*, the Court of *France* continued the Prosecutions against the Duke of *Burgundy* and his Adherents, many of whom suffered under the Hands of the Executioner. *Lewis* of *Anjou*, King of *Sicily*, 1413. The King of Sicily declares against the Duke of Burgundy. who had with him a Daughter of the Duke of *Burgundy*, betrothed to his eldest Son, reproachfully sent her back to her Father. Shortly after, he gave one of his Daughters in Marriage to *Charles* Earl of *Pontieu*, third Son of the King, who was not yet full thirteen Years old. Nothing could prove more fatal to *France* than this Match. The young Prince having espoused the Interests and Passions of the King his Father in-law, became sworn Enemy to the Duke of *Burgundy*. He gives his Daughter to Charles, third Son of the King. At the same time he stirred up against himself the Hatred of that Duke, who though in Exile, had still a powerful Party in the Kingdom. This mutual Animosity, which continually increased, was the Occasion of many Calamities to *France*.

In the mean Time, the *Dauphin* receiving no Benefit from the late Revolution at Court, could not behold without extreme Regret the Duke of *Orleans* at the Head of Affairs, whilst himself was without Credit, and like a Prisoner in the *Louvre*, where he was narrowly watched. The Duke of Burgundy offers his Assistance to the Dauphin, who accepts of it. This Constraint being insupportable to a Prince of his Character, he readily listened to the Offer the Duke of *Burgundy* made him, of assisting him to the utmost of his Power, in order to place him in the Post which his Birth entitled him to. They entered therefore into a sort of League to drive the Duke of *Orleans* from Court. The Duke of *Burgundy* having thus made sure of the *Dauphin*, approached *Paris* at the Head of an Army, pretending his Design was to free the *Dauphin* his Son-in-law from Captivity. He approaches Paris. He verily believed that *Paris* would declare in his Favour: but things were so well settled there that no Body stirred. An Edict against him. During these Transactions, the King, who for some time had been in one of his Fits of Phrensie, being come again to his right Senses, published against the Duke of *Burgundy* a thundering Edict, stiling him Traitor and Enemy of the State. This Edict, joined to the little Prospect of *Paris* declaring for him, caused the Duke to return to *Flanders*. He retires.

1413. Let us leave a Moment the Affairs of *France*, to which we shall have very soon an Occasion to return, since they are the chief Subject of this Reign, in order to see what passed in *England* in the Beginning of the Year 1414.

1414. Mention was made in the late Reign of the two Attempts of the *House of Commons*, to strip the *Clergy* of good Part of their Estates, but without Success. The *Clergy* could not doubt but these Attempts were the Fruits of the *Doctrine* of the *Lollards*. In all Appearance, this was not one of the least Causes of the Hatred they bore these pretended *Hereticks*. It was likewise for this Reason, that in the late *Convocation* they had resolved to use the most violent Means to extirpate a *Heresy* to them so detestable. *Oldcastle*, a Man of a good Family and extraordinary Merit *, was destined to be the first Victim, for a Terror to the whole *Seet*. But by very good Luck he had escaped out of the Hands of his Enemies. It was not without great Grief that the Archbishop had heard the King say, he did not by any Means approve of rigorous Methods. He even showed plainly enough that it was his real Opinion, since after the escape of *Oldcastle*, he took no Care to have him pursued and apprehended again. It was evident, that as long as the King was thus inclined to Gentleness and Moderation, the *Clergy* would hardly be able to have their Desire upon the *Hereticks*. So it was their Interest that the King should have other Sentiments more agreeable to the cruel Zeal wherewith *Ecclesiasticks* are generally animated. Nothing was more conducive to that End, than to make him believe that the *Lollards* had a design upon his Person, and were forming Conspiracies to overturn the *State*. To this therefore the *Clergy* applied themselves without Loss of Time. The late *Proclamation* against their assembling together, quickly furnished them with

The Lollards are accused of conspiring against the King.

* He was Sheriff of Herefordshire in 8 Hen. 4. and had Summons to Parliament among the Barons of the Realm. in 11, 12, 13 of that King's Reign. He was sent beyond Sea with the Earl of Arundel to aid the Duke of Burgundy against the French. He married the Niece and Heir of Thomas Lord Cobham, and for that Reason took the Title of Lord Cobham Dugdale.

with a fair Opportunity. The *Lollards* continued their Meetings notwithstanding the *Proclamation*, though with all possible Secrecy. As they durst not meet together in Houses, for fear of being discovered, they commonly pitched upon some unfrequented Place in the Country to worship God in after their Manner. Some of them having resolved to assemble without one of the Gates of *London*, in a Place called *St. Giles's Fields*, which was then covered with Bushes, were betrayed by *false Brethren*, as it often happens on such Occasions. This Discovery afforded their Enemies the Opportunity they were so eagerly in pursuit of. The King was then at *Eltham*, about seven Miles from *London*, where he designed to keep his *Christmas*. He was very far from expecting any such Thing as a Conspiracy against his Person, when all on a sudden, towards Night he was told, that *Oldcastle* was in *St. Giles's* with twenty Thousand *Lollards*. It was further said, that their Design was to kill the King, the Princes his Brothers, and all the Lords *Spiritual* and *Temporal* who were not their Friends. Certainly it was very unlikely that twenty Thousand Men should have been able to come together at the very Gates of *London*, without any Body's having any notice of it. It was still more improbable that *Oldcastle*, an old experienced Warrior, should make choice of *St. Giles's Fields*, overgrown as they were with Bushes and Shrubs, for the Rendezvous of his Troops. Nevertheless the News was backed with so many Circumstances, that the King could not help giving Credit to the Report. He immediately drew together what armed Men he could, and gave Orders that the Gates of *London* should be kept shut, lest the *Mob* should go out and assist the Rebels. As he was naturally very bold and courageous, he resolved to attack them before they should have taken all their Measures. He arrived upon the Place about Mid-night, and finding about fourscore or a hundred Persons, fell upon them. There were about a Score killed, and Sixty taken. Unhappily for them, they had brought Arms with them for their Defence, in Case they were set upon by their Persecutors. In all Appearance, it was this that helped to con-

1414.

The King
is told
20000 of
them were
met toge-
ther.

He believes
it.

He goes to
attack
them.

vince

1414.
*The Depositions of
some Lords.*

Act Pub.
IX. 119.

ibid.
p. 89.

vince the King they had some ill Design. This alone however would not have been capable of perswading him that they had really conspired against him, if among those that were taken, there had not been some that, gained by Promises, or awed by Threats, confessed whatever their Enemies had a Mind they should. They said their Intent was to destroy the King, and the Princes his Brothers, with most of the Lords *Spiritual* and *Temporal*; in hopes the Confusion which would ensue in the Kingdom, would prove favourable to their *Religion*. Some deposed, that after the Murder of the King and Princes, they intended to make *Oldcastle* Regent of the Kingdom, and that the Conspiracy had been carried on under the Direction of that Lord. The Truth is, one can hardly conceive how a Prince so judicious as *Henry*, could suffer himself to be imposed upon by so gross a Fiction. Indeed had he found twenty Thousand Men in Arms in *St. Giles's*, as they would have made him believe, that would have been a strong Evidence. But that Four-score or a Hundred Men, among whom there was not a single Person of any Note, should have formed such a Project, is extremely improbable. Besides, he himself knew *Sir John Oldcastle* to be a Man of Sense, and yet nothing was more foolish and extravagant than the Project fathered upon him; a Project which they supposed he was to put in Execution with a handful of Men, without being present himself, and without any one's knowing where he was, or his having appointed any other Leader in his Room. But however, the King thought him guilty, and in that Belief, set a Thousand Marks upon his Head, with a Promise of perpetual Exemption from Taxes to any Town that should deliver him up. Nevertheless it is probable that in Time the King perceived the Falseness of this Imputation, and what makes me think so is this. In the first Place, what strict Inquiry so ever might be made over all the Kingdom, to discover the Accomplices of this pretended Conspiracy, not a single Person could be found besides those taken upon the Spot. And yet it is manifest, that in order to execute a Design of that Nature, and make it turn to Account,

count, Fourscore or a Hundred Persons of no great Distinction, were not sufficient. In the next Place, even of those that were taken at St. *Giles's*, there were but very few executed forthwith, whilst the Prejudice against them was yet in its full Force. The King pardoned all the rest. Thirdly, we find in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, not only an *Act of Indemnity* for all the *Lollards*, but likewise several private *Pardons* granted to some that were condemned, though they had constantly denied the Fact. It would not be very strange that the King should have pardoned Criminals that confessed themselves Guilty: but it is unusual with Sovereigns to forgive such a Crime in obstinate Offenders, who render themselves unworthy of a Pardon, by denying what their *Sentence* supposes they have been convicted of. I add further, that Clemency was not *Henry's* favourite Virtue; on the contrary he leaned very much to the Side of Severity, as will appear by several Instances in his Reign. What likelihood then was there that he should be pleased to pardon Persons convicted of having intended to murder him, together with all the Royal Family and great Men of the Kingdom, when they obstinately persisted in denying the fact for which they were condemned, had he really believed them guilty? Lastly, the Principles of the *Lollards* were very far from allowing such Barbarities. It is therefore more than probable, that this Impeachment was forged, in order to render the *Lollards* odious to the King, to the end his License might be obtained for their Persecution, and that the King himself was convinced of its Falseness, after his first Prejudice came to be removed. It must however be confessed, that in all the *Pardons* he granted upon this Score, the Crime was always supposed to be proved. But in order to a Pardon, it was necessary to take the Crime for granted.

In February 1414, *Thomas Arundel* Archbishop of *Canterbury* went to give an Account to God for all the Innocent Blood he had caused to be shed. *Henry Chicheley* Bishop of *St. David's* was put in his Room. But the *Lollards* got nothing by this Change, he being no less their Enemy than his Predecessor.

1414.

ibid.

p. 70.

p. 190.

Death of
Archbishop
Arundel.
Chicheley
succeeds.

1414.
Henry de-
mands the
re estab-
lishment of
the Treaty
of Bretig-
ny.

Act Pub.

IX. 102.

103.

Offer of one
of Charles's
Daughters
to Henry.

Henry con-
sents to it.

ibid.

p. 91.

Truce pro-
longed, Ja-
nuary.

Henry
sends Am-
bassadors
to France.
p. 103.

Another
Embassy.

ibid.

p. 132.

Henry's
Demands.
p. 203.

I left the Archbishop of *Bourges* and *D' Albret* the Con-
stable at *London*, where they quickly discovered the King's
Intentions. The Commissioners which treated with them,
demanded in *Henry's* Name, whatever had been taken from
England since the Treaty of *Bretigny*. The *French* Am-
bassadors replied, They had no manner of Instructions up-
on that Head. They proposed however, as of their own
Heads, a proper Means, in their Opinion, to procure a
Peace between the two Kings. This was a Match between
the King of *England*, and *Catharine* the youngest of *Charles*
IV's Daughters. This Princess had four Sisters, one of
whom was a Nun, and the other three married: So that
she was the only one that could be offered to *Henry*. This
Proposal was not wholly rejected. Though *Henry* insist-
ed upon the Restitution he demanded, as being the speedi-
est and most effectual Way to settle a lasting Peace, what
the *French* Ambassadors offered him, not being inconsis-
tent with the Restitution, he thought he might accept of
the Offer without doing himself any Prejudice. But as
the Ambassadors had not sufficient Powers to treat about
this Affair, it was only agreed that the Truce should be
prolonged to the 2d of *February* 1415.

Upon the Departure of the *French* Ambassadors, *Henry*
sent Five into *France*, to carry on the Negotiation begun
at *London*, concerning the Restitution and Marriage. The
Ambassadors were impowered to promise in the King's
Name, that he would not engage in any other Marriage-
Treaty till the 15th of *May*. They might even prolong
that Term if they thought proper.

The Court of *France* not thinking the Powers of these
Ambassadors sufficient, *Charles* wrote to *Henry*, that in
Case he would send Ambassadors with fuller Powers, he
would willingly treat with them. Upon this Letter *Hen-*
ry dispatched Five more, all eminent for their Birth and
High-Posts, namely, the Bishop of *Norwich*, the Earls of
Dorset, *Warwick*, *Salisbury*, and the Lord *Grey*.

These Ambassadors entered immediately into a Confe-
rence with King *Charles's* Commissioners, the Chief of
whom was the Duke of *Berry* his Uncle. They demand-

ed at first the whole Kingdom of *France* for their Master, by Virtue of his Right, as Heir of *Edward III.* But after a short Pause, they added, that being very sensible their Demand might cause some Disgust, they would make another, with a *Protestation* however that it should be without any Prejudice to the Right of their Sovereign. Then they limited their Demands to the following Articles :

1414.

I. *Normandy, Anjou, Maine, and Touraine*, in full Sovereignty.

II. The Right of Sovereignty over the Earldom of *Flanders*, and Dutchy of *Bretagne*.

III. Whatever *France* held in *Guienne*.

IV. All in General that had been given up to *Edward III.* by the Treaty of *Bretagney*.

V. The whole Country possessed by *France* between the *Somme* and *Gravelin*.

VI. Lastly, That all those Countries should be made over to the King of *England* in full Sovereignty, to hold them as *Neighbour*, and not as *Vassal* of the Crown of *France*.

Before an Answer was returned to these Demands, the Duke of *Berry* earnestly pressed the Ambassadors to begin with the Negotiation of the Marriage, affirming it was the proper Means to settle a solid and lasting Peace between the two Kingdoms. He even tendered a very considerable Dowry for the Princess *Catharine* ; but the *English* Ambassadors would consider the Match only as an Appendix, and not as the Foundation of the Peace. For this Reason, they insisted upon settling the Terms of the Peace first, before the Marriage should be meddled with. In short, after many Disputes on both Sides, the *English* Ambassadors confin'd themselves to the three following Articles, to which they required a positive Answer, before any other Affairs should be taken in Hand.

1414.

I. They demanded whatever had been given up to *England* by the *Great Peace*, that is, by the Treaty of *Breigny*.

II. One Half of *Provence*, with the Earldoms of *Beaufort* and *Nogent*.

III. The six Hundred Thousand Crowns which remained unpaid of King *John's* Ransom.

As for the Match, they roundly affirmed, that the King their Master would never marry the Princess *Catharine*, unless he should be sure of a firm and lasting Peace with King *Charles*. That besides, as the Offers hitherto made him were very inconsiderable, they had no *Power* to treat about that Matter. That therefore it would not only be to no Purpose to talk of the Marriage; but moreover they durst not meddle with that Point before the rest of the Articles were all agreed upon. They added however, that in hopes more reasonable Offers would be made, they were willing to speak their Thoughts, that no less could be offered with the Princess than two Millions of Crowns of Gold.

Some Days after the Duke of *Berry* delivered them a Writing, containing the Offers *France* was willing to make in order to attain to a Peace, with the Answers to their Demands, namely;

I. That the King of *France* offered *Agenois*, *Basadois*, *Auch* in part, *Perigord*, *Escarre*, *Oleron*, *Bigorre*, *Saintonge* beyond the *Charente*, *Quercy*, (*Montauban* excepted) with all the Country between the *Tarn* and the *Aveiron*, *Angoumois* and *Rouergne*.

II. That the King could not dispose of *Provence*, since it was not in his Possession, and since he had not contributed to the putting it in the Hands of the present Possessors.

III. That seeing for the sake of Peace he was willing to give up so many fine and rich Provinces which he lawfully held, the King of *England* ought to be contented with these Offers.

IV.

IV. As for the Match, that although the *Dowry* of a Daughter of *France* was fixed to a much less Sum than he had already offered, he would on the Score of Peace, raise it to six Hundred Thousand Crowns. 1414.

These Demands and Answers were the Subject of several Conferences, which lasted many Days, but of which it would be tedious to relate the Particulars. It will be sufficient to observe, that the Ambassadors of *England* reduced at length all their Demands to the *Treaty of Bretigny*, and to a Million of Crowns for the Princess's Portion. But as the *French* still thought that Sum exorbitant, the *English* gave to understand, it might be lessened, on Condition, that if two Sons should come of this Marriage, the youngest should have *Montrevil* and *Ponthieu* in full Sovereignty. But the *French* returned no Answer to this, and the Conferences ended *March* 13th, 1414.

Whilst this Affair was negotiating at *Paris*, the Enemies of the Duke of *Burgundy* continued to stir up King *Charles* against him, insomuch as looking upon him as an Enemy to his Person and Government, he resolved to make War upon him. To that end, having determined to command his Army in Person, he went and took the *Oriflamb* [or Royal Standard of *France*] at *St. Denis*; after which he became Master of *Soissons* and *Campiegne*, which the Duke had seized. The Duke of *Burgundy* was then little able to withstand him, because the *Flemings* refused to serve him against *France*: Which gave the Duke of *Bourbon* also an Opportunity of taking *Bapaume*. They did not intend to stop there; but luckily for him, the King was seized with a fresh Fit of Lunacy. This Accident afforded the Duke Time to put a strong Garrison into *Arras*. *The Duke of Burgundy is driven to great Straits. Mezerai. Charles was against him; and falls into one of his Fits.*

King *Charles* being unable to act, the *Dauphin* his Son took upon him the Administration, no Body having a Right to dispute it with him. Whether that Prince had some Reason to be displeased with the Duke of *Burgundy*, or whether he did not care to be Friends with him, since he stood no longer in need of him, he carried the King his Father before *Arras*, to which he intended to lay Siege: *The Dauphin is Regent.*

1414.
He grants
the Duke a
Peace.

but it was too late. The Place had been so well taken care of, that it was a hard Task to carry it. The Difficulties of the Siege, the Sollicitation of the Countess of *Hainault* Sister of the Duke of *Burgundy*, and perhaps the private Interests of the *Dauphin*, caused a Peace to be granted to the Duke about the End of *September*; but it was however upon hard Terms. By the Peace the King granted the Duke a *Pardon*, in which five Hundred of his Adherents were excepted. It was also agreed, that all his Friends should remove at a Distance from Court, and that he himself should not come there, unless sent for, with the Consent of the *Council*, and by Letters under the *Great Seal*. Finally, that the King's Banners should be set up on the Walls of *Arras*.

Several
Negotiations
of the
Duke of
Burgundy
with Henry.
Act. Pub.
IX. 136--
138.

During the Preparations in *France* for this War, the Duke of *Burgundy* being at a very great Loss, by Reason of the Obstinacy of the *Flemings*, had sent into *England* the Provost of *St. Donas* to renew the Treaty begun with *Henry*. This *Envoy* had Power not only to conclude an Alliance between the King and Duke, but also to treat about the King's Marriage with the Princess *Catharine*. In all appearance, the Duke demanded the King's Assistance to put him in Possession of the Government of the Kingdom of *France*; which done, he undertook to conclude the intended Marriage to the Satisfaction of his Benefactor. Hence it is plain what the Duke's Intentions were even Then. And therefore *Mezerai's* saying is very just, that the *English* Arms were drawn into *France* by the Betrayers of their Country. The Peace of *Arras* put a stop for some Time to this Negotiation.

Henry
tries to
take Ad-
vantage of
the Trou-
bles in
France.

He calls a
Parlia-
ment at
Leicester.

Mean while *Henry* still continued in the Resolution of improving the Advantages which the Situation of Affairs in *France* gave him a Prospect of. He perceived that at the most he should have to deal but with half the Forces of the Kingdom, and that the other half would even make a Diversion in his Favour. Besides, he saw he was likely to conclude very shortly with the Duke of *Burgundy* an Alliance which must turn to his Advantage. And therefore without any further Delay, he had called a Parli-
ament

liament at *Leicester* for the 30th of *April*, to the end he might get their Approbation of his Design, and obtain such *Aids* as were necessary to enable him to go through with so great an Undertaking. It must be observed that the *Writs* were issued out in *March*, whilst the Provost of *St. Donas* was at *London*.

1414.

Statutes against the Lollards.

The Parliament being met, the *Clergy*, ever incensed against the *Lollards*, got their Emissaries to move the reviving and even increasing the Rigor of the *Statutes* against *Hereticks*. But for this once their Animosity had like to have made them over-shoot the Mark. The Project the *Commons* had formed in the late Reign against the *Ecclesiasticks*, had twice miscarried by the exceeding Forwardness *Wickliff's* Followers had shown in that Business. The *Clergy* taking Advantage of their Animosity, had given the late King to understand, that a Motion of that Nature could not but come from the *Hereticks*, with whom the *House of Commons* abounded, and that it was with the Downfall of the *Clergy* that the Destruction of the *Catholic Religion* was to begin. For this Reason, *Henry IV* had strongly opposed it, and with that Haughtiness as gave great Offence to the *Commons*. Wherefore, though the *Members* that were no Friends to *Wickliff's Doctrine* joined in the Project, yet they had not been able to hinder the too great Zeal of the *Lollards* from laying an insurmountable Obstacle in its Way. Nevertheless in spite of the ill Success it had hitherto met with, they who had formed it had not entirely dropped it. They had only resolved to take another Course that the Rock upon which it had twice split, might be avoided. To that End, when a Motion was made in the *House of Commons* to enact new *Statutes* against the *Lollards*, they who had before been against it, closed with it without any Sollicitation. The *Clergy* appeared exceedingly well pleased with it. The *Pulpits* every where resounded with the Praises of the present Parliament. It was not like that of 1404, the *unlearned Parliament*, but the wisest and most zealous for the *Church* that had ever sat since the Beginning of the Monarchy. The Truth is, nothing could be done more conformable to the *Clergy's* Desires than the

Act

1414.

Act which passed on this Occasion. It was enacted, That all the Magistrates of the Kingdom, from the Lord *Chancellor* down to the meanest *Officer*, should take an Oath to do their utmost to suppress *Hereticks*, and assist the Bishops in the Execution of this good Design. This *Act* was no sooner passed, but a violent Persecution broke out against the *Lollards*. Several were burnt alive. Some left the Kingdom, and others abjured their Religion, to escape the Torments prepared for them.

The Commons petition the King to seize the Church-Lands.

But in a little Time, the *Scene* was changed, with respect to the *Clergy*. They did not dream that the very Persons who had just appeared so zealous for the *Church*, would ever think of pulling it down; for that was the Idea they gave of the Project of devesting the *Ecclesiasticks* of the Riches they enjoyed. And yet the same *Commons*, who in so authentick a Way had lately screened themselves from all suspicion of *Heresy*, willing to comply with the King's Demand of a *Subsidy*, presented to him an Address, praying him to seize upon the Estates of the *Clergy*. This Address was grounded upon the same Considerations that had been presented to the late King upon the same Score. It was maintained, that the Revenues of the *Church* would be much better laid out in providing for such a Number of *Nobles*, *Colleges*, and *Hospitals*. This was a stunning Blow to the *Clergy*, and the more because after the *Act* lately passed, and which was actually put in Execution, there was not the least Room left to represent the *Commons* as *Heretical* or Abettors of *Heresy*.

The King seems to approve of the Petition.

The King himself being upon the Point of beginning an expensive War, believed, or feigned to believe, that there was a Necessity to do what the *House of Commons* desired. As his Revenues would of Course be greatly increased by it, that Consideration did not a little bias him to hearken to so advantageous a *Motion*.

The Clergy seek to divert the Blow.

The *Clergy* perceiving their Ruin was inevitable, unless some Remedy was found against the Evil which hung over their Heads, met together to consult about the Means to prevent, or as least to weaken the Blow as much as possible. After divers Debates upon a Matter of that Importance

tance

tance to them, they came to these two Resolutions. The First was, to give up some Part of their Lands to the King, in order to save the rest. The Second, to divert the King's Thoughts from Affairs at Home, by engaging him in a foreign War, which might wholly engross him. The frequent sending Ambassadors from *Paris* to *London*, and from *London* to *Paris*, making them conclude that the King was meditating some Enterprize against *France*, they resolved to stir him up to the utmost of their Power, to carry War into that Kingdom. Pursuant to these Schemes, the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who undertook to be the Spokesman, told him, " That the *Motion* of the *House of Commons*, " which seemed advantagious to the *State*, was not so in " reality : *That* in Case their Project was executed, the " *Church's* Revenues would be put to Uses which the " King in particular would reap no Benefit from, but on " the contrary, might in Time be extremely prejudicial to " the Sovereign : *That* by augmenting the Number and " Riches of the *Nobility*, as was intended, at the same " Time would be enlarged a *Power* which ever since the " Foundation of the Monarchy, had all along opposed " the Sovereigns, and even hurled some of them down the " Precipice : *That* the Founding of *Hospitals* would serve " only to encourage People in Sloth and Idleness, when " they should see so many *Houses* ready to receive them, " without being obliged to work ; but *that* the *Clergy*, " more sincerely affected to the King than the *House of Commons*, were very willing to give him upon this Occasion a sensible Proof of their Zeal and Affection for his Person, by delivering up the *Alien Priories*, which being in Number one Hundred and Ten, were possessed of Lands which would considerably increase the Revenue of the Crown : *That* all the Estates of these *Houses* would be intirely his ; whereas if the Project of the *Commons* took effect, he would be no Gainer by it. "

Whether the King suffered himself to be perswaded by these Arguments, or whether he thought it was always the best way to take what the *Clergy* offered of their own Accord, he accepted of the Proposal. Whereupon the Lands

1414.
They come
to two Re-
solutions.

They offer
the King
the Lands
of the Alien
Priories.

He accepts
of the Offer
Act. Pub.
IX. 280.

of

1414. of these *Priories* were given him by *Act of Parliament*, without the *Clergy's* opposing it.

Mean while the *Clergy* being apprehensive that one time or other the King would have amind to what the *Commons* had offered him, seriously thought of putting in Execution the other Part of their Scheme. To that purpose the Archbishop took upon him to endeavour to induce the King to make war upon *France*. The King's warlike Temper, his stirring of late with regard to the Affairs of *France*, and the universal Desire of the whole Kingdom, put him in hopes that his Design would be crowned with Success. Having therefore prepared a Speech proper to produce that Effect, he took occasion to speak it in Parliament, before the King himself.

He began with insinuating Praises of the King's Virtues, saying, he was worthy to wear not the Crown of *England* only, but that of the whole World. Then addressing himself to the King, he represented to him, " That it by no
 " Means redounded to his Glory, to leave the King of *France*
 " in the peaceable Enjoyment of *Normandy, Anjou, Tourain,*
 " *Maine*, and Part of *Guienne*, all these Provinces having
 " been wrested from the Kings of *England* by pure Vio-
 " lence, and on frivolous Pretences. That it was not only
 " to these Countries that he had an indisputable Right, but
 " might also very justly lay Claim to the whole Kingdom
 " of *France*, as Heir and Successor of *Edward III.* Then
 " he urged at length the Reasons which have been related
 " upon this Point, in the Reign of *Edward*. He talked
 " of the *Salick Law* as a Chimera built upon no good
 " Foundation, and which, being repugnant to the *Law of*
 " *Nature*, could not be admitted, tho' it was as real as
 " it was imaginary. He asserted, that *Pepin the Short*,
 " who dispossessed the Line of *Merovens*, claimed the Crown
 " as Heir to *Blithilda*, Daughter of *Clothaire I*; and that
 " *Hugh Capet* founded his Title upon his being descended
 " from a Daughter of *Lewis le Debonnaire*. He added,
 " that these Claims, which would have been ridiculous, if
 " the *Salick Law* had been in force ever since *Pharamond*,
 " were clear Evidences that it was then unknown. That

" be-

“ besides, such a Law would be contrary to the Law of
 “ God himself, who disposed in quite another Manner of
 “ the Inheritance of *Zelophehad*, in favour of his Daugh-
 “ ters. That the famous *French Civilians* had confessed,
 “ that the *Salick Law* was a Contradiction both to the Law
 “ of God and Nature (a). In fine, that the glorious Suc-
 “ cess with which God had crowned the Arms of *Edward*
 “ III, plainly showed that God approved not of that pre-
 “ tended Law. That if afterwards he permitted that Mo-
 “ narch and the Prince of *Wales* his Son to end their
 “ Days before they were able to repair the Losses they
 “ had sustained in *France*, nothing can be inferred from
 “ thence against the Justice of their Title. That by his
 “ Judgments he was pleased to punish the Sins of the *English*
 “ Nation, but never intended to deprive the Heirs and Suc-
 “ cessors of *Edward* of their just Right to the Crown of
 “ *France*. That the Discontinuing the Prosecution of this
 “ Right, occasioned by the Slothfulness of *Richard II*,
 “ and the Troubles of the late Reign, could not be confi-
 “ dered as a withdrawing of all Claim. That *England* enjoy-
 “ ing at present a happy Tranquillity under the Government
 “ of a Prince endowed with so many excellent Qualities,
 “ the relinquishing of these just Pretensions would be run-
 “ ning counter to all the Rules of Prudence and Politicks.
 “ That moreover, the Posture of Affairs in *France* pre-
 “ sented an Opportunity which in vain would be sought
 “ hereafter. Finally, he exhorted the King to exercise the
 “ Talents Heaven had blessed him with, and not to remain
 “ in an ignoble State of Inactivity, but prepare, without
 “ dreading the Difficulties, for so just and glorious a Con-
 “ quest, which would render him the greatest Potentate in
 “ *Europe*. He closed his Speech with saying, that if the King
 “ would be pleased to take in hand so noble an Under-
 “ taking, the *Clergy* would give him a larger *Subsidy* than
 “ they had ever granted to any of his Ancestors, and that

(a) The Archbishop, or he that made this Speech, was ignorant
 doubtless that without the *Salick Law* *Edward III.* could have no
 manner of Claim to the Crown of *France*. Upon which see the
 Reign of *Edward III.*

1414

“ he did not question but his *Lay-Subjects* would do the “ same ”.

*The War
against
France re-
solved, and
a Subsidy
granted
the King.*

Most Historians pretend that this Speech had such a sudden and wonderful Effect, that *Henry* immediately resolved to prosecute his Claim to the Crown of *France*: But the Negotiations which had been set on foot before upon this Head, and of which I have given an Account, plainly make appear, that this Resolution was already taken, and that the Business at present was to get the Parliament to fall into the same Sentiments. To this the Archbishop's Speech perhaps greatly contributed: At least, it is certain that the *Commons* before they broke up approved of the Design, and granted the King a *Subsidy* of Three Hundred Thousand Marks to begin with. There is some likelihood that upon this Occasion the Archbishop acted in Concert with the King, either to sound the Mind of the *Commons*, or to stir them up to a War. But however, this Resolution perfectly corresponding with the *Clergy's* Project, it is no wonder the Archbishop should so strongly urge the Necessity of a War. And indeed, this Affair was no sooner resolved in Parliament, but the *Bill* intended against the *Clergy* fell of its own accord, Peoples Minds being otherwise taken up.

*Continuation of the
Negotiations be-
tween
France
and Eng-
land.*

During all the Rest of this Year, Ambassadors were continually going backward and forward between *London* and *Paris*. *France* would fain have had *Henry's* Marriage with the Princess *Catharine* to be an equivalent for the greatest Part of the Demands of *England*. This was the Project that Court had formed, imagining *Henry* might be decoyed by that Lure. *Henry*, for his Part, rejected not the Proposal, provided the Marriage was considered only as a Consequence of the Peace, or at least such Conditions were annexed to it, as should procure him the Restitution of the Provinces lost since the *Treaty of Bretigny*. He made as if he suffered himself to be amused to a certain Degree. He sent *Power* upon *Power* to his Ambassadors to prolong the Time of the Engagement he had entered into upon that Score. But when the Match was proposed, these same Ambassadors refused to meddle with it till the Terms of the Peace were first

first agreed upon. This was the Subject of all the Negotiations. Mean while, it is certain that both Sides had no other View but to gain Time. *Henry* was too wise not to perceive that *France* would never comply with his Demands before she had received some fatal Blow. On the other Hand, as there had not been for a good while any considerable Alteration in *England*, besides the Accession of a new King to the Crown, the Court of *France* could not believe that the *English* were in a Condition to support the War they so loudly threatned. So that the sole View of the *French* was to amuse *Henry* till Time should cause some Turn in the Affairs of either Kingdom. *Henry* proceeded gradually, without going out of his way, there being nothing at Home capable of giving him any Interruption. *France*, on the contrary, was full of Dissentions. Those at the Helm took more care to keep their Ground against the opposite Party, than to prevent the Designs of the King of *England*. Nay, it was next to impossible that they should be able to take just Measures at such a Juncture. The *Dauphin*, who had the Management of Affairs, was a Prince whose Head was more Hot than Able. But granting his Capacity had been greater, what could he have done, hemmed in as he was by two Factions which divided the Kingdom, and whereof neither was really attached to his Interests? Besides, neither the *Dauphin* nor the *Orleans*-Faction could be persuaded, that after an Intermission of two whole Reigns, the King of *England* would even think in good earnest of asserting his Right to the Crown of *France*. We find in the *English* History, that after *Henry* had sent the first Time to demand the Crown of *France*, the *Dauphin*, in Derision of his Youth, sent him for a Present a Tun of *Tennis*-Balls. His Intent no doubt was to let him know that he thought him fitter to play at *Tennis* than to manage Arms*: But it was not long before he was of another Opinion. Such was the Disposition of the Court of

*The Disadvantages
Francelays
under.*

*The Dauphin's
scornful
Present to
Henry.*

* *Henry* sent him back word, he would repay him with Balls of greater Force, whose Stroke the strongest Gates of *Paris* should not be Rackets sufficient to rebound.

1414. *France*, whilst *Henry* was wholly taken up in making Preparations necessary to accomplish his Designs.

*France be-
gins to take
other Mea-
sures.*

*1st. Feb.
IX. 139.*

Ibid.

140, 141.

*Henry
continues
his Negoti-
ations with
the Duke
of Bur-
gundy.
p. 179.*

The Resolution of the Parliament of *Leicester* opened the Eyes of those who governed *France*. They were sensible at length that *Henry* was in Earnest, and it was not without some Confusion, that they perceived he had made use, to over-reach them, of the same Means they had practised themselves to amuse him. The Negotiations about the Marriage, and the frequent prolonging the Engagement he had voluntarily entered into, were only a Decoy of His to hinder *France* from being provided for her Defence. This is what plainly enough appears by the Parliament's Resolve. Then it was that *Charles's* or the *Dauphin's* Council, thought it high time to think seriously of giving *Henry* some Satisfaction. To that Purpose, Secretary *Col* was dispatched to him with fresh Offers, but which were far short of his Claims. Before the meeting of the Parliament of *Leicester*, *Henry* had, as one may say, demanded the whole Kingdom of *France* only by the By, and to serve as a Foundation for his other Pretensions. But when he found himself backed by his Parliament, he talked at a much higher Rate, and seemed unwilling to be satisfied with what he had demanded at first. However, to amuse *France*, he all along pretended to desire that the Affair might be determined by a Negotiation. To that end, he readily consented that the Marriage should be treated about, and the Term of his Engagement prolonged to the 15th of *August*, empowering his Ambassadors to put it off as much longer as they should judge proper. But all this made him not delay or interrupt his Preparations for War.

Mean while the Negotiation with the Duke of *Burgundy* still went on, whilst that Prince was hard pressed by his Enemies. In the Month of *June*, *Henry* sent to him *Philip Morgan*, a Person of great Abilities, who he always employed in the most important Negotiations. *Morgan's* publick Instructions were only to renew the Truce with the *Flemings*. But the Choice of that Ambassador, and the coming of *Copin de la Vieuville* into *England* from the Duke, together with the present Juncture of the Time, are

plain

plain Evidences enough that these Goings backwards and forwards were not merely to prolong a Truce of Commerce, wherein there was no great Difficulty. Besides, the Discovery we shall see hereafter, will make appear what was then in the Duke of *Burgundy's* Head. The gaining of that Prince to his Interests was a material Point to *Henry*. A fairer Opportunity could not offer, since it was at a Time when the Court of *France* showed no manner of Regard for him. But he boggled, it seems, at making so extraordinary a Step, and was unwilling to have recourse to *Henry* without an absolute Necessity. Amidst all these Negotiations passed the Year 1414.

1414.

In the Beginning of the next Year, *Henry* consented to the prolonging the Truce to the 1st of *May*. Mean while the Court of *France*, alarmed at the great Preparations carrying on in *England*, sent thither again the Archbishop of *Bourges*, with eleven more Ambassadors. It is likely the Archbishop made some new Offer to *Henry*, but which was not considerable enough to content him: All he could obtain was, the further prolonging the Truce to the 8th of *June*.

1415.
Act. Pub.
IX. p. 197.
p. 219.

Whilst these Ambassadors were at *London*, the King assembled the Lords *Spiritual* and *Temporal*, at least as many as were at hand. When they were met, he acquainted them by the Bishop of *Winchester* his Uncle and Lord *Chancellor*, with his Resolution of going in Person, and carrying War into *France*, in order to recover the Inheritance of his Ancestors. This Declaration seemed needless, seeing the great Men had been sufficiently informed of his Design. But probably his Intent was to oblige by that Means the *French* Ambassadors to discover at once what they had to propose to him, he imagining that they still refrained to let him know the utmost they were to offer. The present Posture of Affairs in *France* made him hope they would propose the putting Things upon the Foot of the *Treaty of Bretigny*. In that case, he would doubtless have been satisfied with so considerable an Advantage, though he had for some Time talk'd of his Claim to the whole Kingdom of *France*. The Archbishop of *Bourges* no longer questioning

The Truce
prolonged
again.
p. 225.
Henry tells
the Lords
he is resolved
to go to
France.
p. 222.

The Truce
prolonged
again.
p. 262.
p. 282.

the

1415.

The Archbishop of Bourges's bold Words to the King.

the King's Designs, told him, that he wanted to go to *France* for fresh *Instructions*; upon which *Henry* consented the Truce should be further prolonged to the 15th of *July*. The same Prelate being returned to *England* a few Days before the Expiration of the Truce, added something more to the former Offers; but it was to no purpose. Nothing was capable of satisfying *Henry* but the *Treaty of Bretigny*. The Archbishop demanded his Answer in writing, and the King ordered it to be given him immediately. Some add, that the Archbishop seeing there was nothing to be done, fell to reproaching the King, that not content with a Crown which the King his Father had unjustly wrested from *Richard II*, he had a mind to invade that of *France* too: but he would find it a more difficult Task than he imagined.

Henry im- barks his Troops, and continues his Negotiation with the Duke of Burgundy.

Every Thing being ready, *Henry* ordered all his Troops to repair forthwith to *Southampton*, where they were to embark, he himself going before to manage Matters as the Troops and Transports arrived. Whilst he was thus busied in the Imbarkation, he gave fresh Powers to *Philip Morgan*, to conclude a Treaty of Alliance with the Duke of *Burgundy*. This makes appear, that the Duke, who was still at the Court of *France*, held private Intelligence with *Henry*, and in all appearance contributed very much to the engaging him in this Undertaking. Their Treaty however was not concluded till two Years after.

A Plot against the King discovered.

Henry was preparing to set out about the latter End of *July*, or the Beginning of *August*. The greatest Part of his Troops were already embarked, when notice was given him of a Conspiracy against his Person, formed by such as he thought he had the least Reason to suspect. If we may believe the *English* Historians, the Court of *France* dreading the Issue of the War, had employed vast Sums of Money to bribe some Persons to kill the King. They make these Sums to amount to a Million of *French Livres*, which is not to be thought strange, considering the Quality of the Persons concerned in the Plot; namely, *Richard* Earl of *Cambridge*, Brother of the Duke of *York*; *Henry Scroop* Lord Treasurer, who commonly lay in the same Room

Room with the King; and *Thomas Grey* Earl of *Northumberland*, and Privy-Counsellor *. It is not certain however, that they had a Design upon the King's Life: At least the Earl of *Cambridge's* Confession, extant in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, contains nothing like it. It appears only, that they had conspired to set the Earl of *March* at their Head, and conduct him where they hoped they should be able to raise an Army, by making use of the Name of *Richard II.* as if he were still living. That if they could not deceive the People by that Means which had already been so often practised, their Intent was to publish a *Manifesto* in the Name of the Earl of *March*, inviting the People to restore that Prince to his Right which was usurped by the *House of Lancaster*. As they could not make use of the Earl of *March's* Name, without having him in their Power, or at least of their Side, they could not help letting him into the Plot. The Earl was at a great loss what to do when he was told the Secret. A Crown, to which he believed he had a just Right, was well worth the Pains of running some Risk to obtain it. But on the other Hand, he was satisfied that the Conspirators acted not from a Motive of Justice or Affection for his Person: Besides, the Uncertainty of the Issue could not but dishearten him. Mean while, he was pressed very earnestly to enter into the Conspiracy. Not being able to resolve immediately, he desired time to consider of so important an Affair; and it was with great Difficulty that they gave him the rest of that Day. During that Interval, he made such Reflections, as induced him to go and acquaint the King with the whole Matter. *Henry*, surprised at the News, immediately ordered the Conspirators to be apprehended, who confessing their Guilt, were condemned and executed. The Earls of *Cambridge* and *Northumberland*

1415.

Act: Pub.
IX. 300.The Au-
thors pu-
nished.
p. 300.

* Though *Thomas Grey* is called here and by some of our Historians Earl of *Northumberland*, yet he could not be so, seeing *Henry Percy*, Son of *Hotspur*, was restored to that Honour in the 2d of *Henry V.* as appears by the *Parliament Rolls*, 2 H. V. n. 17. *Dugdale* says. this *Grey* was of the Family of Lord *Grey of Work in Northumberland*. Vol. II. p. 449.

1415. *thumberland* were beheaded, and the Lord *Scroop* suffered the usual Punishment of Traitors. This was as it were the first Spark of that Fire which consumed in Process of Time the *Two Houses* of *Lancaster* and *York*. As the Earl of *Cambridge* had married a Sister of the *Earl* of *March*, it is very likely that he had engaged in the Plot, with a View to procure the Crown for *Richard* his Son, Heir apparent of that Earl, who had no Children.

Henry sets
jail.

This Affair having detained *Henry* at *Southampton* longer than he imagined, he could not sail till the 18th or 19th of *August*. His Fleet consisted of Fifteen Hundred Transport Ships, on Board of which he had embarked Six Thousand Men at Arms, and Twenty Thousand Archers, making in all an Army of about Fifty Thousand Men. He was attended by the Earls of *Dorset*, *Kent*, *Cornwal*, *Salisbury*, *Huntington*, besides a great Number of other Noblemen. On the 21st of *August* he landed his Troops at *Havre de Grace* in *Normandy*, and without Loss of Time marched towards *Harfleur*, about nine Miles off. That Place was strong and well-stored. Just before Four Hundred Men at Arms had been sent thither, besides abundance of Gentlemen of the Neighbourhood, who came of their own Accord. The Garrison made a vigorous Defence, but however, in a little Time they were forc'd to capitulate, and promise to surrender the Place unless relieved within three Days. The Term being expired, and no Relief come, *Henry* took Possession of the Town, and expelling the Inhabitants, planted an *English Colony* in their Room, as *Edward III.* had formerly done at *Calais*.

Lands at
Havre de
Grace.

Takes Har-
fleur, and
peoples it
with Eng-
lish.

Act. Pub.
IX. 313.

This Place being of the utmost Importance, *Henry* would not depart from thence till it was entirely repaired and put in a good Posture of Defence. Whilst he was employed in this Work, he sent a written Challenge to the *Dauphin*, offering to decide all their Differences by a single Combat between them Two. In these Differences nothing less was concern'd, in the King's Opinion, than the whole Kingdom of *France*. If he address'd himself to the *Dauphin*, it was on account of the King his Father's Distemper, which rendered him incapable of accepting such a Challenge. But as it

was

1415.

was not in the *Dauphin's* Power to hazard in a single Combat the Crown of *France*, which was not yet in his Possession, *Henry* offered, in case he should come off Conqueror, to let King *Charles* enjoy it during his Life. Moreover, he protested that this Proposal came wholly from himself, without his Council, or any of the Royal Family having any Hand in it; and therefore he pretended it could bring no Prejudice to his own or his Successors Rights. This Challenge was dated at his Town of *Harfleur*, September 16th, 1415. It does not appear that the *Dauphin* sent any Answer to it. The Truth is, the Offer was too disadvantageous on his Side, since he would have hazarded a Crown which his Father was in actual Possession of, and which he was naturally one Day to inherit; whereas *Henry* would have run the Risk of bare Pretensions only.

The taking of *Harfleur* might have made *Henry* rest satisfied with the Success of his first Campaign, which he had begun a little too late, had not the ill State of his Army given him a great deal of Trouble. The *Flux*, which was got amongst his Troops, had made and still did make such Ravage, that not above the fourth Part of his Army were in a Condition to bear Arms. This Distemper had not seized the common Soldiers only, but the most considerable Officers themselves were not free from it. The Bishop of *Norwich* and the Earl of *Suffolk* were already dead of it. The Duke of *Clarence* the King's Brother, the Earl of *Arundel*, and several other Officers of Distinction had been so dangerously ill of it, that they were obliged to return to *England*, in hopes of being cured there.

*Ill State of
the English
Army.*

At the same Time *Henry* learned from all Hands that the *French* were drawing together their Forces with all speed in order to give him Battle. Till the taking of *Harfleur* the Court of *France* seems to have doubted that the King of *England* intended to wage War in good earnest, since they had made no Preparations for a Defence. But after the Loss of so important a Place, King *Charles's* Council easily perceived it was necessary to assemble all the Forces of the Kingdom, in order to put a Stop to the Progress of an Enemy, who began to be very formidable. The great

*The French
draw together an
Army.*

1415
Henry re-
solves to
retire to
Calais.

Armament *France* was preparing, the ill State of the *English* Army, and the Approach of Winter, obliged *Henry* to think of retreating. He seems to have been able to re-embark at *Harfleur*. But whether he thought that would look too much like running away, or whether he foresaw not all the Obstacles he afterwards encountered, or for some other unknown Reason, he came to a Resolution to retire by Land to *Calais*.

Difficulties
of the
March.

The March he undertook was difficult, at a Season when the Rains began to make the Roads very bad. But it became much more so by Accidents which he did not expect. The *French* having foreseen, or been informed of his Design, broke down in all haste the Bridges, and spoiled the Causeys which were in his Rout, and destroyed, or removed into the fortified Towns, the Provisions and Forrage that he might have met with in the Country. On the other Hand, the Constable *D' Albret*, with a Body of Troops which he had drawn together, whilst the rest were getting ready, continually harrassed the *English*, and constrained them to march close together, and to be always upon their Guard. All these Difficulties hindered them from going forward so speedily as would have been necessary to get out of this Plunge.

He is not
able to pass
the *Somme*.

Amidst all these Obstacles in his Way, *Henry* marched along the *Somme*, in hopes of being able to pass that River at the Ford of *Blanquetaque*, as *Edward III* had done the Day before the Battle of *Crecy*. But when he came there, he found that Pass rendered impracticable by being drove full of sharp Stakes, and defended moreover by a Body of Troops posted on the other Side. He was extremely concerned to find he could not put his Project in Execution. He lay under a Necessity however, either of passing the *Somme*, or resolving to return to *Harfleur* through the very same Difficulties he had already been exposed to, and without knowing when he came there, how to maintain his Army. In this Extremity he determined to march along the River to its Fountain-head, though by so doing, he went very far out of his Way: As he advanced, he every where found

Here resolves
to go to the
Fountain-
Head.

found the Bridges broken down, and the Fords guarded by Troops, intrenched on the other Side. 1415.

As in so wretched a Case, there was no Remedy but Patience, *Henry* took all possible Care to inspire his Troops with it, by bearing his share of the Wants and Hardships they laboured under. It is easy to judge, that these Hardships were by no means proper to stop the Course of the Distemper they were afflicted with, but on the contrary, great Numbers fell ill in the March. In fine, to compleat his Misfortune, *Henry* had Advice that the King of *France* was come to *Roan*, and had sent to the *Constable* fourteen Thousand Men at Arms, with all the Princes and great Lords of the Kingdom, except the Dukes of *Berry* and *Burgundy*. The *Dauphin* was very desirous of commanding the Army; but the King would not give him leave. The *Constable*, who had also drawn together abundance of other Troops, having received so strong a Reinforcement, called a Council of War, wherein it was unanimously resolved to give the *English* Battle. But as the *French* Generals thought themselves sure of Victory, considering the Superiority of their Numbers, they judged it best, instead of continuing to guard the *Somme*, to let the *English* Army pass over, and to go and post themselves in the way to *Calais*. This Resolution being taken, they went and expected their Enemies in the Earldom of *St. Paul*, to the end they might draw them over the *Somme*, into a Place where they should not be able to make a Retreat.

The Army suffers much in the March.

French Army reinforced.

They go and expect the English in the Road to Calais.

It is certain that by passing the River, *Henry* run into manifest Danger, since he had no other Course to take but to conquer or dye. It is true he might have turned back to *Harfleur*; but I cannot tell whether that was less hazardous, considering the Difficulties he must have encountered, and which he had not without infinite Pain and Trouble surmounted. Wherefore it is a Question which seems to me hard to be decided, whether *Fighting* was more to be dreaded than *Retreating*. But however, it is to be presumed that he chose what to him appeared the least hazardous, when he continued his March along the *Somme*, with a Resolution to go and face the Danger which waited for him

Henry continues his March.

1415.
He passes
the Som-
me.

Officers re-
store Har-
fleur.

His Offer
rejected.

The French
challenge
him.
His An-
swer.

He meets
the Enemy,
who offer
him Battle;

which he
accepts.

him on the other Side. As the Passes were no longer defended, he found one between St. *Quentin* and *Peronne*, where he caused his Army to go over. But although this Obstacle, which hitherto had seemed the greatest, was removed, the *English* Army did not find their Case one Jot altered for the better. Their Enemies, six Times more in Number, were ready to receive them upon their coming over; whom there was a Necessity of vanquishing in order to open a Way to *Calais*. The *French* Historians affirm, that *Henry* seeing himself in this wretched Situation, offered to restore *Harfleur*, and repair all the Damages he had caused in *France* since his Landing, if he might have Liberty to march on unmolested: But that his Offer was rejected. On the contrary, the *Constable* and Princes that were in the *French* Army, sent three Heralds to offer him Battle, leaving to his Choice the Time and Place. *Henry* replied, That he had been a good while upon his March to *Calais*; that it was long of them they had not fought him, and that in case they had any such Design, there was no occasion to appoint the Time or Place; that he was resolved to pursue his March, and they should always find him ready to receive them.

The *French* Army being posted in his Rout, there was no possibility of going by them without fighting. He resolved therefore to prepare for a Battle. On the 22d of *October* the *French* Generals sent him Word by a Herald, that on *Friday* following (a), they would give him Battle. *Henry*, who had before resolved what to do, accepted the Challenge, and presented the Herald with a Robe worth two Hundred Crowns. During the three Days before the Battle *Henry* never ceased to inspire his Troops with Courage, by promising to reward their Valour, and by using all other Means most conducive to that End. He set before them the Glory of their Ancestors, who obtained the famous Victories of *Crecy* and *Poictiers*, and demonstrated to them the Necessity they were under of conquering, in order to free themselves from their present Calamities, and

10

(a) *October* 25th.

to avoid still much greater. His Exhortations had so wonderful an Effect, that the Officers and Soldiers, far from dreading the great Numbers of their Enemies, desired nothing so much, as to join Battle with them. The Day before the Fight, *Henry* having sent *David Gam*, a *Welsh* Captain, to view the Posture of the Enemy, this brave Officer brought back Word, that there were enough to kill, enough to take Prisoners, and enough to run away. This couragious Assurance pleased the King mightily, as it was a good Sign that his Men were firmly resolved to do their Duty. Mean while the *French* were making merry in their Camp, holding themselves sure of Victory, by Reason of their Numbers. *Mezerai* owns, that they were four Times as many as the *English*. *Monstrelet* says six Times. This Diversity may partly proceed from *Mezerai*'s reckoning all the Soldiers, sick and well, in the *English* Army, and from the other's meaning only such as were in a Condition to fight. The *English* Writers make the Difference between the two Armies much greater, affirming the *French* amounted to one Hundrd and fifty Thousand, and the *English* but to nine Thousand. However this may be, it is certain the Superiority of the *French* was vastly great. But what Odds soever there was between the two Armies, as to Number, there was another and no less considerable Disparity with regard to the different State they were in. The *English*, troubled for the most part with a *Flux*, which had stuck close to them ever since their Departure from *Harfleur*, were moreover harrassed with a long March of a Month, in very bad Weather, and through an Enemies Country. They had all along been in want of Provisions, and would doubtless have been all starved to Death, if the exact *Discipline*, which the King caused to be observed had not engaged the Country People to supply them with Victuals, for the sake of selling them at an extravagant Rate. The *French* on the contrary were fresh and healthy, abounding with plenty of Provisions, and labouring under no Inconveniency. If we may believe the *English* Historians, so confident of Success were the *French* Leaders, that they sent to the King to know what he intended to give for

1415.
Firmness
of the King
and his
Troops.

Great disproportion
between
the two
Armies

Confidence
of the
French.

his

1415. his Ransom, when he should be in their Hands. *Henry* despising this Bravado, replied, as some tell us, That it would quickly be known, whose Business it was to compound for the Ransoms.

*The two
Armies
are drawn
up in order
of Battle.
Blunder of
the Constable.*

On the 25th of *October*, the Day appointed for the Battle, the two Armies were drawn up in Battalia at Break of Day. The Constable *D' Albret* committed on this Occasion an unpardonable Blunder, in chusing for the Field of Battle a narrow Piece of Ground, flanked on one Side by a Rivulet, and on the other by a large Wood. By which Means he lost all the Advantage which the Superiority of Numbers, and especially in *Horse*, could give him. It is most certain that this General ought to have posted himself in a large and open Place, where he might have had it in his Power to surround the *English*, who were but a Handful of Men in comparison of his Army. But by drawing up his Troops in Battalia upon such a narrow Piece of Ground, he was forced to make his Front no larger than that of the Enemy, and so deprived himself of a very manifest Advantage. Neither can it be said, that the Choice of the Field of Battle was not entirely in his Breast. Seeing the *English* were marching for *Calais*, it was in his Power to plant himself in some spacious Plain, capable of containing his whole Army, and where he might have had room to fight all at once. So that one cannot enough wonder at his Blindness, which can be ascribed to nothing but his Presumption. His Design, it seems, was to dam up that narrow Passage, to the end the *English* might not be able to proceed, not considering that this Precaution could be advantagious only to the weaker Side. I have dwelt a little upon this false Step, because in all likelihood it was the principal Cause of the bad Success the *French* had in this Day's Action. The Constable, blinded by the Number of his Troops, drew them up, as I said, on this narrow Ground, but so close together, that it was easy to foresee Confusion and Disorder would ensue during the Battle. He divided his Army into three Bodies; the First of which he commanded himself, and with him were the Dukes of *Orleans*, and *Bourbon*, the Earls of *Eu*, *Vendome*,

dôme, *Richemont*, the famous Marshal *Boucicaut* Grand Master of the Cross-Bow Men, the Lord *Dampier* Admiral of *France*, the Dauphin of *Auvergne*, and several other Officers of the greatest Distinction. All these Princes and Lords thought themselves happy in being in the first Line, persuaded as they were, that there would be nothing left for the other two to do. The Duke of *Alençon* commanded the Second Body, with the Duke of *Bar*, the Earls of *Vaudemont*, *Nevers*, *Salines*, *Rouss*, and *Grand-Pre*. At the Head of the Third Line, were the Earls of *Marle*, *Dampmartin*, *Fauquenbergh* and the Lord *de Lauroi*.

Whilst the *French* were drawing up in Battle-array, Henry detached a Body of four Hundred Spear-Men, to go and post themselves out of Sight of the Enemy, behind the Wood on the Left-hand of the Field of Battle. He lodged moreover two Hundred Archers in a low Meadow-Ground covered with some Bushes on the Right. In drawing up his Army, he could make but two Lines by reason of the small Number of his Troops. *Edward* Duke of *York* commanded the First, attended by the Lords *Beaumont*, *Willoughby* and *Stanhope* *. The King put himself at the Head of the Second, with a Gold Crown on his Helmet, which served for a *Crest*, and near him was the Standard of *England*. In this Posture he expected the *French* to come and attack him. In the mean Time he went through all the Ranks, exhorting his Troops not to be afraid of a Multitude of raw and undisciplined Soldiers. He represented to them, that the obtaining of Victories depended not on Numbers, but on Bravery, and above all on the Assistance of God, in whom he admonished them to place their whole Trust. Perceiving that the *French* kept their Standing, he sent for some of his principal Officers, and said to them with a cheerful Countenance, *My Friends, Since they will not begin, it is our Business to open a Passage with our Swords. Let us charge them in the Name of the ever blessed Trinity.*

Precautions taken by the King before the Battle.

* There was no Lord *Stanhope* then, Sir *Philip Stanhope* not being created *Baron of Shelford*, till the 14th of King *James*, and afterwards in the 14th of *Charles I.* Earl of *Chesterfield*. The Person meant here was Sir *John Cornwall*, afterwards Lord *Fanhope*. *Dugdale*.

14 5.
The Eng-
lish begin
the Charge.

Monstre-
let.

Trinity. Having said these Words, he gave the Signal of Battle. Immediately the Soldiers of the foremost Ranks having removed the Stakes which they had set up before them to resist the Fury of the *Cavalry*, the whole Army, shouting as usual, put themselves in Motion. Having moved forward a little, they made a Halt, expecting the Enemy to come on; but finding the *French* stirred not, they continued their March in good Order. As soon as they came within Bow-shot, the foremost Ranks pitched the Stakes *, interweaving them one among another, and bending them a little towards the Enemy. At the same Time a Body of chosen Archers advancing some Paces, began at a small Distance to let fly upon the Enemy a Shower of Arrows three Foot long, which being shot by Men of Dexterity and Vigour, did the greater Execution among the *French*, as they stood extremely close together and had scarce room to move. The *French Cavalry* advancing at length to repulse the Archers, these last nimbly retreated behind the Stakes with a wonderful Discipline, in which the King had exercised them himself for some Days. Mean while the two Hundred Bow-Men who lay concealed in the Meadow, rising up on a sudden, let fly their Arrows among the *Cavalry*, who were put in a Disorder so much the greater, as the Horses sunk up to their Knees in the Ground softened by the Rains. The *English* seeing them in Confusion, threw away their Bows, and fell upon their Enemies Sword in Hand. It is affirmed, that the *English*, for the most part, were fain to fight quite naked from the Waste downwards, by Reason of their Dis temper. However as the first Line of the *French* consisted of all the best Troops in their Army, this Charge, vigorous as it was, was repulsed with some Loss on the Side of the *English*. But that was not capable of disheartening Men that were determined to conquer or die. After they had taken Breath a while, they charged again with such Resolution, that it was not possible for their Enemies to stand the Shock.

* They were studded with Iron at both Ends, and about six Foot long. These were set up by the Direction of the Duke of York.

This

This second Attack was so much the more difficult to be repulsed, as at the same Time the *French* felt themselves flanked by the *English Horse*, who had lain in Ambush behind the Wood. Then it was that Disorder was every where spread among the Troops so vigorously pressed by their Enemies, who slew without Mercy all that came in their Way. The first Line of the *French* having at length taken to flight, after seeing the *Constable* slain, with a great Number of other Officers, and the most Part of the Princes and Generals made Prisoners, the *English* found themselves stopped by the second Line, which came to repair the Disorder.

1415.
*The first
Line of the
French
routed.*

Mean while, *Henry* having advanced with his second Line, as the first gained Ground, stood ready to support his Men who would have been in Danger of being put to Rout, in case he had been at too great a Distance. Whilst the first Body after having so bravely fought, were filing off to the Right and Left, in order to make Way for the King, and go and rally in his Rear, *Henry* alighting from his Horse, presented himself to the Enemy with an undaunted Countenance. The Duke of *Alençon*, Prince of the Blood-Royal of *France*, advanced at the Head of his Body with great Intrepidity, not questioning but he should be able by his Conduct and Valour to repair the Dishonour his Countrymen had just received. He had detached eighteen resolute Fellows, with Orders to keep close to the King of *England*, and never leave him till they had either slain or taken him Prisoner. *Henry* for his Part marching on with a Fierceness heightened by the Success of his foremost Troops, charged the second Line with a Valour equal to that of the most renowned Heroes in History. He fought on Foot at the Head of his Men, rushing among his Enemies, as if he had forgot that the Fate of his Army depended upon his Life.

*Henry
fights on
Foot at the
Head of his
Troops.*

Mean Time the eighteen Cavaliers who had undertaken to dispatch him, having opened their Way to him, one of them gave him such a Blow with a Battle-Ax on the Head, that it stunned him for a while, though the Goodness of his Helmet resisted its Violence. At the same Time,

*He is exposed to great
Danger.*

1415. the rest were striving with all their Power to come at him. In all appearance, he would hardly have escaped the Fury of the *Desperadoes*, had not *David Gam* the brave *Weiss* Captain, with two other Officers of the same Nation, saved his Life at the Expence of their own. The King, who had recovered his Senses, seeing them extended at his Feet and still alive, knighted them all three, being unable, in the Condition they were in, to reward their Loyalty any other way. At the same Time the eighteen *Frenchmen* who still made prodigious Efforts to execute their Design, were all killed upon the Spot.

Henry's
great Cou-
rage.

He is knock-
ed down
on his
Knees.

The French
are put in
disorder.

The Heat of the Battle increasing, *Henry* still more animated by the Danger he had run, gave signal Proofs of his Valour, and drew upon him the bravest of the Enemies. The Duke of *Gloucester* his Brother who fought by his Side, being knocked down with the Blow of a Club, he covered him a good while with his own Body to prevent his being killed outright. By this bold Action, he brought himself into such Danger, that at length he received on his Head a Blow which made him fall on his Knees. But his Guard, immediately advancing, repulsed the Enemy, and gave him Time to rise again. The Hazard the King was exposed to, and the Wonders he performed, inspired his Troops with a sort of Fury. On a sudden, as it were by Consent, the *English* Soldiers encouraging one another, ran headlong upon their Enemies, and by this violent and unexpected Attack, put them in such Disorder, that their Leaders could never repair it. *Henry* improving this Advantage, pressed them vigorously in order to hinder them from recovering out of their Surprise, being well aware that this was the lucky Moment on which the Victory was to depend. Their Disorder increasing more and more by Reason of their great Numbers and want of Room, they began at length to retreat as they fought, and in such a manner as plainly showed they would quickly take to their Heels.

The Duke of *Alençon* extremely concerned to see the Battle lost by the Flight of the second Line, and despairing that the Third would be able to renew the Fight, gene-
rously

rously resolved to die honourably, rather than turn his Back and live to be a Witness of his Country's Disgrace. Regardless of a Life he was determined to lose, he took with him a small Number of brave and resolute Persons, and furiously making Way with his Sword through the *English* Troops, he every where sought the King of *England*, in hopes of revenging by one single Stroke, the Loss *France* had that Day sustained. It was no hard Matter to find *Henry*, who thought of nothing less than concealing himself. The Moment the Duke saw him, he ran at him, and crying aloud that he was the Duke of *Alençon*, discharged on his Head a Blow with such Violence, that it carried off one half of the Gold Crown on the Top of his Helmet. *Henry* not having been able to parry the Blow, was not slow to revenge it. In return, he struck the Duke to the Ground, and with repeated Blows slew two of his brave Attendants. In an Instant, the Duke was surrounded by a Crowd of Enemies who put an End to his Life, maugre all the Endeavours of the King to save him. The Death of the Duke of *Alençon* having quite bereaved his Troops of all Courage, they openly took to Flight.

1415.

*Alençon
gives the
King a fu-
rious Blow;*

*who knocks
him down.*

The third Line of the *French* being still fresh and in good Order, might have renewed the Battle: But their Hearts failing at the Sight of the Slaughter which had been made, and was still making, it was not in the Power of the Leaders to bring them to charge. So that finding themselves reduced to a Necessity of retreating without fighting, they left the Run-aways of the second Line exposed to the Fury of their Pursuers, who were close at their Heels. Then it was that the *English* having nothing to do but to kill and take Prisoners, exercised *Pity* or *Cruelty*, according as every one was naturally inclined. As it was impossible for the *French* in the Disorder they were in to rally, and as their Numbers were an Obstacle to their Flight, they voluntarily offered themselves to Death or Captivity, as their victorious Enemies pleased. Mean while the Troops that had retreated without fighting, were still in Sight at some Distance, and seemed resolved to stand their Ground against Enemies harrassed with so long a Battle. But

*The third
Line of the
French re-
treat with-
out fight-
ing.*

1415. the King perceiving they were still more numerous than his Army, sent them word by a Herald, that unless they immediately marched off they were to expect no Quarter. This bold Message had the Effect he expected. Whether their Troops were not fully resolved what Course they should take, or whether they were apprehensive of falling into the Hands of an implacable Enemy, in case they should make an Attempt and not succeed, they retreated and left Henry Master of the Field of Battle.

The Occasion of the King's killing all the Prisoners.

Finding himself thus sure of the Victory, he thought he had nothing more to do, when on a sudden word was brought him, that the Enemies were in his *Rear*, and had already plundered his Camp. Surprized at this unexpected Accident, he hastily ran to the Top of a little Hillock between the Army and the Camp, to take a View of these new Enemies. He beheld indeed great Disorder among his Baggage, and saw the Troops which he had left to guard the Camp, dispersed about the Field, and endeavouring to save themselves by Flight. This Sight causing him to imagine that the Enemies had rallied in order to renew the Fight, he gave Order that the Prisoners should be all slain, except only some of the greatest Note. This Order being forthwith put in Execution, he rallied his Troops, and marched directly to the Enemies, who took care not to stay his Coming. They were a Company of Runaways, headed by *Robert de Bournonville*, who retiring betimes out of the Battle, and knowing the *English* Camp was but weakly guarded, went and pillaged it whilst the two Armies were engaged. The Duke of *Burgundy* would have severely punished the Captain of these Plunderers who was his Subject, for having been the Occasion of so great a Disaster; but the Earl of *Charolois* his Son found Means to save his Life. 'Tis said, the Earl had been presented with a Sword set with Diamonds, found among the King's Baggage. 'Tis pity so glorious a Victory should have been sullied by this hasty Massacre. It may however be excused by the Impossibility the *English* were under of guarding their Prisoners, and by the just Fears the King might be in, that

that the same Prisoners would turn against him, during the Fight which he saw himself upon the Point of renewing.

Nothing more opposing the King's victorious Arms, his first Care was to return God Thanks for so signal a Victory which he had so little reason to expect, and publickly to acknowledge that it was entirely owing to the Assistance of his All-powerful Arm. After having performed this just Duty, he sent for a *French* Herald which was in the Army, and required him to declare to whom the Victory was to be ascribed. The Herald answered, that the Victory was his beyond all Dispute. Then the King asked him the Name of a Castle which he saw before him near the Field of Battle, and being told it was called *Azincourt*, he said, that to all Posterity this Day's Action should be called *the Battle of Azincourt*. As the Fight began at Ten in the Morning, and lasted till almost Five in the Afternoon, Henry not thinking fit to continue his March, for fear of fatiguing his Army too much, returned to *Masconcelles*, where he had encamped the Night before.

In this memorable Battle so fatal to *France*, the *French* lost the Constable *d'Albret*, the Duke of *Alençon* Prince of the Blood, the Duke of *Brabant*, and the Earl of *Nevers*, Brothers to the Duke of *Burgundy*, the Duke of *Bar*, the Earls of *Vaudemont*, *Marle*, *Roussi*, *Fauquenbergh*, and many more Officers of Note, besides Ten Thousand private Soldiers. An *English* Historian says, that among the slain were one Archbishop *, three Dukes, six Earls, ninety Barons, fifteen Hundred Knights, and seven Thousand Esquires or Gentlemen. Among the Prisoners, who would have been very numerous had it not been for the Massacre after the Battle, the most eminent were the Dukes of *Orleans* and *Bourbon*, the Earls of *Eu*, *Vendôme*, *Richmont*, *Etouteville*, and Marshal *Boucicaut*. On the Side of the *English* there were slain only the Duke of *York*, the Young Earl of *Suffolk*, and, if we believe some of the *English* Historians, not above four Knights, one 'Squire, and twenty-eight common Soldiers. Some however with greater

* Of Sens.

1415.

greater Probability affirm, the *English* lost four Hundred Men. *Mezerai* mounts the Number to sixteen Hundred, and brings down the Loss of the *French* to six Thousand. It is very common on these Occasions to see the like Diversity among the Historians of the two opposite Sides.

Henry
continues
his March
to Calais.

On the Morrow the King began his March again towards *Calais*. In going over the Field of Battle, he took Occasion to speak much in the Praise of his Troops: but at the same Time he exhorted those about him not to be puffed up with a Victory which was gained purely by the miraculous Assistance of the Lord of Hosts. During his March, he was extremely civil to the *French* Princes his Prisoners. He told them, that he had not obtained the Victory by the Superiority of his Merit, but because God was pleased to make use of him as his Instrument, to punish the Sins of the *French* Nation: That the Advantages he might expect from his Victory, were so far from making him averse to a Peace, that he was even more inclined to it than he was before the Battle.

Act. Pub.
IX. 787.

The Duke
of Burgun-
dy challen-
ges the
King.

Some Days after the Duke of *Burgundy* sent him a written Challenge, and let him know by a Herald that he intended to revenge the Death of his Brothers. Probably the Duke of *Brabant* and the Earl of *Nevers* were put to Death in the Slaughter of the Prisoners after the Battle. *Henry* willing to keep fair with that Prince whom he still hoped to gain to his Interest, returned a very mild Answer. He told the Herald, as he gave him back the *Gantlet* which he had at first received from his Hand, that the *French* themselves could witness he was not guilty of the Death of the Duke's Brothers, but that his own Subjects were answerable for their Blood. This he said, because *Bournewille*, who occasioned the killing of the Prisoners, was a *Burgundian*.

The King
refuses to
accept it.

Henry re-
turns to
England.

About the Middle of *November* *Henry* embarked for *England*, taking along with him the principal Prisoners. He met in his Passage with a violent Storm, which put him in extreme Danger of his Life, and even caused some of his Ships to founder. At last, after enduring great Hardships, he arrived on the 16th of *November*. He was received in

Act. Pub.
IX. 327.

England

England with the Acclamations usual on such Occasions, The People were never tired with praising a Prince that had rendered the *English* Name so formidable and glorious. His first Care was to appoint a Day of publick Thanksgiving for the happy Success of his Arms. Then he caused the Bodies of the Duke of *York* and of the Earl of *Suffolk*, who lost their Lives in the Battle, to be honourably interred*. The Duke of *York* leaving no Issue, *Richard* his Nephew, Son of the Earl of *Cambridge* beheaded at *Southampton*, was his Heir.

The Wound *France* had just received was not so great on account of the Advantages the King of *England* reaped by his Victory, which gained him not a single Foot of Land, as for its being the Occasion of the Civil Wars breaking out afresh with more Fury than ever. The Duke of *Burgundy* resolving to take Advantage of the present Juncture, claimed the Administration of Affairs again, from which he had been excluded some time since, and particularly by the Peace of *Arras*. He alledged, that now the Kingdom was threatned with utter Ruin, a Prince of the Blood, First Peer, and double Peer of the Realm, was indispensably bound in Duty to aid the King with his Counsels, and could not be debarred from coming to Court without Injustice and Danger. But as he was well aware that his Reasons would be of no great weight, unless backed by Force, he approached *Paris* with an Army, and seized some Posts about the City. The *Dauphin*, not being able to bear the Thoughts of admitting to Court the Duke of *Burgundy*, though his Father-in-law, sent for the Earl of *Armagnac*, and gave him the Constable's Sword. This Earl, sworn Enemy of the Duke of *Burgundy*, did not spare those who adhered to the Duke, and were commonly called the *Burgundians*. He ordered some to be hanged, and great Numbers to be imprisoned, and by that Means heightned the Animosity of the two Factions to such

The Trou-
bles are re-
newed in
France.

The Earl of
Armagnac
made Con-
stable.
He perse-
cutes the
Burgundi-
ans.

* *Edward* Duke of *York*, Son of *Edmund de Langley*, Son of *Edward III.* was buried in his Collegiate Church at *Fotheringhay* in *Northamptonshire* And *Michael de la Pole*, Earl of *Suffolk*, Son of him that died of the *Flux* before *Harfleur*, was interred at *Ewelme* in *Oxfordshire*.

1415. such a Degree, that from thenceforward nothing was capable of uniting them against the common Enemy. The *Dauphin* seconded the *Constable's* Revenge, and never minded the restoring the ruinous Affairs of the Kingdom, the Government whereof was in his Hands. Shortly after, namely, on the 24th of *December*, this Prince was poisoned.

The *Dauphin* poisoned.

John his Brother becomes *Dauphin*.

Is opposed by the *Constable*.

Henry is applied to by both Parties.

By the Death of *Lewis*, the new *Constable* remained sole Master of the Person of the King, and of the Government of the Kingdom, till such time as *John* Duke of *Tourain* should return, to whom the Title of *Dauphin* was fallen, and who was then in *Hainault* with the Earl his Father-in-law. This young Prince having resolved to espouse neither Side, sent Orders to both Factions to lay down their Arms. The Duke of *Burgundy*, who was losing his Time before *Lagny*, obeyed, pretending he did so out of pure deference to the *Dauphin's* Orders, and retired into his Dominions. But the *Constable* was not so tractable. As he had the King's Person in his Power, he did not think the *Dauphin* had any Right to command him, till he should be actually in Possession of the Regency, which he was bent to oppose, unless he would declare against the *Burgundians*. It was this that hindered the *Dauphin* from returning to Court.

All this while it was next to impossible that *France* could take any just Measures for her Defence against the Attacks she was threatned with from *England*. The Duke of *Burgundy* was privately treating with *Henry*. The Earl of *Hainault* was likewise courting that Monarch to put the *Dauphin* his Son-in-law in Possession of the Regency. On the other Side, *Lewis* of *Anjou*, King of *Sicily*, who was then Head of the *Orleans-Faction*, was projecting how to deprive the *Dauphin* of his Birth-right, by procuring the Crown for *Charles* Earl of *Ponthieu* his Son-in-law. To compass his Ends, he thought the surest Method he could take, was to secure the Assistance of *England*. Thus, all *France* as it were with one Consent, though with different Views, earnestly sought the Alliance of the *English*, against whom the whole Nation would have

have firmly united, if private Interest had not prevailed above the Good of the Publick. In this manner passed the Year 1415, which *the Battle of Azincourt* has for ever rendered memorable.

1415.

The Consternation *France* was under, and the Dissentions between the Duke of *Burgundy* and the *Constable*, seemed to promise *Henry* fresh Laurels, if he had continued the War. Nevertheless, that Prince, whose Wisdom equalled his Valour, very prudently steered a quite different Course. He judged, that by fomenting the Troubles of *France*, and inspiring the two Factions with Jealousy, he should procure more certain and lasting Advantages, than by Means of his Arms. The Truth is, by pushing the *French* too vigorously, he ran the Risk of uniting them all against him. In which case, in all likelihood his Advantages would have been but inconsiderable. But by giving them some Respite, he left them at liberty to destroy one another. Wherefore, contrary to every one's Expectation, he laid aside his military Affairs for near eighteen Months, and betook himself entirely to the Business of Negotiation, which afforded him the Prospect of less doubtful Advantages. He continued not however in a State of Idleness. The Particulars of what passed in 1416, and part of the Year following, will show, how diligent he was in the Prosecution of his Designs.

1416.

Henry
purposes to
gain the
Duke of
Burgundy.

Henry's chief Aim was to gain the Duke of *Burgundy*, who had already shewn an Inclination to make an Alliance with him. The succeeding in this Design he perceived would be of more Advantage to him than the gaining another such Battle as that of *Azincourt*. To this therefore all his Endeavours tended, as to his main Point. In order to be able to attain his Ends, it was necessary that the Affairs of *France* should remain in the Posture they were in at present. There was a Necessity that the *Constable* and the other Heads of that Faction, should always have it in their Power to persecute the Duke of *Burgundy*. This was the only Thing which could enduce that Prince to play a desperate Game, which he beheld with Dread, and which the sole Desire of Revenge was capable of putting him upon. if

1416.

by the continuance of the War, *France* should have lost Towns and Battles, the *Constable*, who held the Reins of the Government, would doubtless have forfeited all his Credit. By that means the Duke of *Burgundy* would have infallibly got into the Regency again, and no longer stood in need of the *English*. This is the true Reason of *Henry's* consenting to all the Proposals offered him, either for concluding a Truce, or for renewing the Treaties of Peace. Mean while, his and the Duke of *Burgundy's* Envoys went backwards and forwards from *London* to *Flanders*, and from *Flanders* to *London*, ever under Colour of a Treaty of Commerce, in which fresh Difficulties were continually started, the better to hide their main Design.

*Why this
Negotiation
was kept
secret.*

It was not without Reason that both Sides kept secret this Negotiation. The Duke, who would not make an Alliance with the King but in the last Extremity, was afraid that the Discovery of his Intention would alienate from him the Affections of the *French*, and especially of the *Parisians*. *Henry* had Reason to fear on his Part, that in case the Court of *France* came to the Knowledge of this Negotiation, they would find Means to break his Measures. In the mean while his desisting entirely from War ever since the *Battle of Azincourt*, might well cause his Designs to be somewhat suspected. But the Arrival of the Emperor *Sigismund* freed him from this Trouble, as it gave him room to pretend that he discontinued the War at the Instance of that Prince.

*Sigismund
arrives in
France
Mezerai.*

*He proposes
a Truce,
which is re-
jected.*

In the Beginning of the Year, *Sigismund* came to *Paris*. He gave out himself that the sole End of his Journey was to make Peace between the two Crowns of *France* and *England*. This Design was noble and charitable, and worthy a Christian Monarch, granting it was wholly without private Views. But several Circumstances make it suspected that he had undertaken this Voyage to befriend *Henry* rather than *France*, and in hopes of finding his own private Benefit in it. Upon his Arrival in *France*, he proposed a four Years Truce between the two Kings; but the Court rejected his Proposal. The *French* Historians tax the *Constable* with refusing this Truce, out of private Interest but

but without showing wherein the War could be of any Advantage to him. I suppose he was then projecting the Siege of *Harfleur*, which he began in *June* following. It may be he perceived that the Emperor was not an impartial Mediator. Be that as it will, *Sigismund* finding he could do nothing at *Paris*, came into *England* in the Month of *March*. The *English* Historians take notice, that being about to land, he was met by the Duke of *Gloucester* and some other Lords, who stepping into the Water with their drawn Swords, stopped the Boat. Surprized at this Reception, he asked the Reason of it; the Duke told him, that if he was come to claim any Authority in *England*, they had Orders to forbid his landing; but if he came only as a Mediator of Peace, he should meet with all the Respect due to his Imperial Dignity. This was to warn him not to take the Liberty of acting with any Authority in *England*, as he had done in *France* during his Stay there.

1416.

He goes
over to
England.

The Arrival of *Sigismund* at *London* was preceded by that of *William of Bavaria* Earl of *Holland* and *Zealand*, who was come upon the same Errand. These two Princes quickly saw they should find it a difficult Matter to procure a Peace. *Henry* added to his former Demands, the Town of *Harfleur* with Part of the adjacent Territory for the Maintenance of the Garrison. On the other Hand, *France* keeping to her first Offers, would not hear a word of Peace, unless *Henry* would restore *Harfleur*. So that the two Mediators perceiving it was almost impossible to make a Peace, were satisfied with getting the two Kings to consent to a Truce for three Years, during which *Harfleur* should remain in Trust in their Hands, for certain *Securities* which the *French* Prisoners in *England* had obliged themselves to give. But just as the Treaty was going to be signed, the Prisoners fell from their Word. The *Constable*, who was resolved to besiege *Harfleur*, had agreed to this Negotiation only to amuse *Henry* and hinder him from diving into his Design.

The Earl of
Holland
and he got
the two
Kings to
consent to
a Truce.

Act. Pub.
IX. 787.

France
falls off.

1416.
Conflict be-
tween the
Earl of
Dorset and
the Consta-
ble of
France.

Shortly after he carried King *Charles* to *Roan*, under some Pretence; his Aim was to be ready at Hand against the coming of some *Genoese* Ships, which were to join the *French* Fleet in order to invest *Harfleur* by Sea. He managed Matters so privately that *Henry*, not having the least Suspicion of his Design, neglected to reinforce the Garrison. During the *French* Court's being at *Roan*, the Earl of *Dorset* Governour of *Harfleur*, made an Incurfion even to the Gates of that City, and carried off a great Booty. But he could not retire so speedily but that he was overtaken by the *Constable*, who gained some Advantage upon him. On the Morrow, the *Constable* still pressing the *English* who were hastily retreating, constrained them to halt and stand upon their Defense. In this second Skirmish, the Earl of *Dorset*, though inferior in Number of Troops, had his Revenge, and compelled his Enemy to retire as fast as he could to *Roan*.

The Con-
stable be-
sieges Har-
fleur.

This Check prevented not the *Constable* from continuing his Preparations for the Siege of *Harfleur*. Immediately upon the Arrival of the *Genoese* Ships, he ordered his Troops whom he had dispersed on Purpose, to come together again at a certain Place, and went and headed them in Person. Then he marched directly to *Harfleur*, where he was not expected, so much did the *English* imagine the *French* unable to make any Attempt. Whilst the *Constable* besieged the Town by Land, the Viscount of *Narbonne* blocked it up by Sea, so that nothing could go in or out. *Henry* was exceedingly vexed to be thus over-reached by the *Constable*. He was sensible then that the Negotiation was intended only to amuse him, and therefore was the more provoked to do all that lay in his Power to break his Enemies Measures. He had a Mind, in his Turn, to use Cunning, and try to circumvent the *Constable*. With this View he made as if he was wholly inclined to a Peace, and demanded an Interview with his Cousin, for so he called the King of *France* then, whereas before he stiled him his Adversary. He was in hopes that in Case an Interview was granted, a Truce would ensue, which would give him Time to relieve *Harfleur*; but his Demand was rejected.

Henry tries
in vain to
amuse
France.
A & Pub.
IX. 365,
366.

After

After this, he gave *Morgan* Commission directly to demand a Truce. But the Court of *France* took Care not to give him such an advantage at the present Juncture. At last perceiving the *Constable* was not to be amused, he commanded a Fleet to be fitted out, resolving to go himself and relieve the Place. He depended upon the Valour and Experience of the Earl of *Dorset* the Governour, well knowing he would do his utmost to give him Time to come to his Relief. In this he was not mistaken; for although the Siege was begun about the Middle of *June*, it was in no great Forwardness at the End of *July*. So that *Henry* having had time to equip his Fleet, was in a readiness to embark in Person. But the Emperor dissuaded him from hazarding himself in an Expedition of this Nature, wherein all his Prudence could not avail to prevent the Accidents which might happen at Sea. The King yielding to the Emperor's Instances, gave the Command of the Succours to the Duke of *Bedford* his Brother, who set Sail about the End of *July*. It was not long before he fell in with the Enemy's Fleet lying before *Harfleur*. The Viscount *de Narbonne* putting himself in a Posture of Defence, withstood for some Time the Efforts of the *English*; but at length he was forced to yield them the Victory, after having seen five *Genoese* Caracks taken, and several of his own Ships sunk. Nothing more preventing the Duke of *Bedford* from throwing the Succours into the Town, the *Constable* quitted the Siege and marched off.

He resolves
to go and
relieve
Harfleur.

He is dis-
suaded
from it by
the Empe-
ror
Sends the
Duke of
Bedford;
p. 371.

Who breaks
the French
Fleet.

Whilst these Things passed, the Duke of *Burgundy* kept on his secret Negotiations with *Henry*, under divers Pretences. One while it was to renew the Truce between *England* and *Flanders*; another while about some Affairs relating to the Church, which were depending before the Council of *Constance*. In *May*, the Truce I just mentioned which was to expire the 15th of *June*, had been renewed for a Year, and yet the Duke of *Burgundy* sent four Ambassadors more to *England*. In the beginning of *August* the King appointed Commissioners to treat with them about some Ecclesiastical Affairs. This publick Commission served as a Blind to carry on the private Conferences. But by another

Negotiation
between the
King and
Duke of
Burgundy
continues
Act Pub.
IX. 33.
364. 374.

1416.
Aug. 5.

Aug. 7.
p. 375.

They agree
upon an In-
terview at
Calais.

The Dau-
phin and
Duke of
Burgundy
concert
Measures.

another of the same Date, the Commissioners were empowered to agree with the Ambassadors upon an Interview between the King and the Duke of *Burgundy*. This Negotiation must needs have been in good Forwardness already, since two Days after the King dispatched Orders to several Officers to be in a Readiness to attend him beyond Sea, where he was to have an Interview with some of his Enemies. This plainly enough shows that the Duke's frequent Embassies were designed for quite another Thing than the treating about Trade or *Church-Affairs*. That Prince had now been a long Time in suspense about concluding his Treaty with *Henry*. As he was of the Blood-Royal of *France*, and first *Peer* of the Realm, he was very sensible that an Alliance of that Nature was directly contrary to his Honour and Duty. Besides, such a Step could not but do him a Prejudice in *France* among his own Party. For these Reasons, he had hitherto been satisfied with keeping the Negotiation on Foot, in order not to bring it to a conclusion but in Case of Necessity. The Earl of *Armagnac's* Revenge at length carried the Duke to enter into this Alliance, which doubtless he would have put off longer, or it may be, never done, if he had not been as it were drove to it by the Persecution of his Enemies.

I have already taken notice that the Constable d' *Armagnac*, had under divers Pretences, prevented *John* the Dauphin then in *Hainault* from returning to Court. The young Prince not being able to bear to be thus over-ruled by this proud Minister, longed to be at the Head of Affairs, and to stand Neuter between the two Factions, which would gain him the Esteem and Regard of both Parties. But it was not possible, since he had no Forces at his Disposal but the Earl of *Hainault's* his Father-in-law, which were not strong enough to enable him to put such a Project in Execution against the Constable's Will. Mean time, the Duke of *Burgundy* plainly perceiving there was no likelihood of his getting again into the Government as long as the Constable had the King's Person in his Power, thought it his best way to strengthen himself with the Assistance of the new Dauphin. To that End he had conferred in

the

the Beginning of the Year at *Valenciennes*, with him and the Earl of *Hainault*, and they had agreed that the *Dauphin* should try by fair Means to be admitted to Court, that he might take the Place due to his Birth : That in Case he succeeded, he should carry the Duke along with him : But if he failed, they should concert other Measures to out the *Constable* and free the King. Pursuant to his Resolution, the *Dauphin* and the Earl of *Hainault* repaired to *Compeigne*, from whence the Earl went alone to *Paris*, to mediate the Return of the Prince his Son-in-law. Upon the first mention of recalling the Duke of *Burgundy*, the *Constable* took him up short, and plainly told him that the *Dauphin* should never be admitted to the King his Father's Court, unless he openly declared himself an Enemy of the *Burgundian* Faction. The Earl of *Hainault* seeing his Obstinacy, could not forbear uttering some Threats, which made the *Constable* and his Party sensible that the *Dauphin* intended to rely upon the Assistance of the Duke. This was the Reason, that in order to prevent the Mischief which this Union might do them, they resolved to dispatch him out of the way. A few Days after the *Dauphin* died of Poison at *Compeigne* the 16th of *April* 1416, and not in 1417, as we find it in the Abridgment of *Mezerai*. The King of *Sicily* was suspected of having done this Deed, in order to make way for Prince *Charles* his Son-in-law. If he was guilty, his Death, which happened presently after, hindered him from reaping any Benefit by it.

1416.

The *Dauphin* is
poisoned.

By the Death of *John*, *Charles* his Brother Earl of *Ponthieu* became *Dauphin* and *Heir-apparent* to the Crown. This young Prince immediately espoused the Party of the *Armagnacs*, for so the *Orleans-Faction* was then called. By that Means the Duke of *Burgundy* was more out of Hopes than ever, and the Earl of *Armagnac* kept at the Head of the Government, nothing being done without his Orders. The Hatred he bore the Duke of *Burgundy* caused him to let slip no Opportunity of persecuting the *Burgundians*, who were very numerous at *Paris*. These Severities and the tyrannical manner in which he behaved to all the World, joined

Charles his
Brother
succeeds
him

The *Burgundians*
persecuted

1416.

The Duke of
Burgundy
does Ho-
mage to
Henry.
Act. Pub.
IX 383.

Treaty be-
tween Si-
gismund
and Henry
ibid.
P. 377.

joined to an extreme Greediness, induced at length the *Parisians* of the *Burgundian* Party to lay a Plot to introduce their Head into the City. The Conspiracy coming to light, the *Constable* took occasion from thence to exercise his Rage upon the whole Party to such a Degree, that the Duke of *Burgundy* did not think himself any longer obliged to keep any Measures with the Court. Immediately, to let the World see his Resentment, he concluded with the King of *England* a Truce for all their respective Dominions, not excepting those he held in *France*. But his Revenge did not stop here. His Ambassadors, as I said before, agreed that the King and he should meet at *Calais*, and that the Duke should acknowledge *Henry* for the true King of *France*, and do him *Liege-Homage*. This Interview was fixed to the Beginning of *October*.

Mean while, the Emperor *Sigismund* having nothing more to do, departed about the Middle of *August*. In his Way to *Canterbury*, he signed a Treaty of perpetual Alliance with *Henry*, and at the same Time a League against *France*. He obliged himself to aid the King in the Recovery of the Kingdom of *France*, and *Henry* engaged to assist him in constraining King *Charles* and some other Princes to do him Homage for certain Territories not specified in the Treaty. This probably concerned the Kingdom of *Arles* and the *Dauphiné*, to which the Emperors had some stale Pretensions. By the way, one has a Glimpse in this Treaty, of one of the Motives of *Sigismund's* Journey to *France* and *England*. In all likelihood, by procuring a Peace between the two Kings, he hoped to get for himself some one of those Countries, to which he laid claim. However, it may be conjectured, that he expected some private Benefit from the Peace. Great Princes are seldom seen to go and spend whole Years out of their Dominions, with the sole View to mediate a Peace in which they have no manner of Concern. *Sigismund* was of all others the farthest from this Character. I don't know whether before his Journey to *England* he had contracted a Friendship with *Henry*; but after his Departure, it appears by several Records that there was between them a strict Correspondence

spondence and mutual Confidence, very uncommon among Princes*.

1416.

The Emperor being arrived at *Calais*, staid there for Henry goes to *Calais*.
Henry, who could not come till about the end of *September*. Mean while, the Court of *France*, alarmed at the Report of the Duke of *Burgundy's* being to go and confer with *Henry* at *Calais*, and wanting to know what the issue would be, sent thither the Archbishop of *Rheims*, sends the Arch-bishop of *Rheims*.
 with some other Ambassadors. The Pretext was to treat about a Peace with the King; but in all appearance the chief Aim of this Embassy, was to discover what should pass at the Interview. *Henry* was not sorry that the Ambassadors of *France* would be Witnesses of the Arrival of the Duke of *Burgundy* at *Calais*, and therefore he forthwith dispatched their *Safe-Conducts*, and presently after their coming, appointed Commissioners to treat with them. But he laid his Measures so well, that the *French* could never dive into the real Motive of his going to *Calais*, at least with any Certainty. It did not appear that he had any other Design but to confirm the late Treaty between him and the Duke, which had been already published at *London*. It is true, that afterwards the Duke's Proceedings made him suspected of being in Friendship with the *English*; but this was only bare Suspicion. The *French* Historians speak of this Matter in a very loose manner, and we had properly nothing certain about it, till the *Publick Records* printed in *England* discovered the Secret. There we find what follows upon this Subject. p. 384.

The 1st of *October*, the King dispatched a *Safe-Conduct* for the Duke of *Burgundy*, and eight Hundred Attendants, and sent him the Duke of *Gloucester* his Brother in Hostage. Next Day, he appointed Commissioners to receive in his Name, the Oaths of *John* Duke of *Burgundy*, and of *Philip* Earl of *Charoleis* his Son, pursuant to the *Articles* a-

* He was whilst in *England* solemnly installed *Knight of the Garter*, together with the Earl of *Holland* and *Zealand*.

1416. greed upon, which were in Form of *Preliminaries*. The Articles were Word for Word thus :

Articles of Agreement between the King and Duke of Burgundy.
ibid.
p. 394.

“ The King having acquainted the Duke of *Burgundy* with his just Claim to the Crown of *France*, and his Adversary’s Refusal to give him Satisfaction hitherto, told him, That by the Help of God and *St. George*, he was resolved to do himself Justice by Force of Arms. Upon this Declaration, the said Duke perceiving the Justice of the King’s Title, and considering the great Victories the Lord had blessed him with, promises to send him his *Letters Patents*, containing what follows :

“ That although heretofore, for want of a thorough Knowledge of Things, he had espoused the contrary Party, believing it just, now that he is better informed, he promises firmly to adhere to the King of *England* and his Heirs and Successors, as to those who are and ever will be the true and lawful Kings of *France*, as much as if they were in actual Possession of the Crown.

“ Though for the present the King has not desired the said Duke’s Homage, yet as the said Duke owns it to be his Due, he will promise that as soon as the King of *England* shall be in possession of a considerable Part of the Realm of *France*, he will pay him *Leige-Homage*, and take the Oath of Allegiance to him, just as every *Vassal* of the Crown of *France* ought to do to the King of *France* his Sovereign.

“ *Item*, The Duke of *Burgundy* will promise to endeavour, by all known and unknown ways, to place the King of *England* in the Throne of *France*.

“ *Item*, Whilst the King shall be taken up in pursuing his Rights, the Duke of *Burgundy* will make War with all his Forces upon the Enemies of the said King in *France*, namely, A. B. C. D. and upon all their Dominions and Adherents refusing Obedience to the King of *England*.

“ *Item*,

“ *Item*, In all the Alliances and *Letters Patents* made or
 “ to be made between the said King and Duke, wherein
 “ the Duke should except or shall have excepted the
 “ King’s Adversary, or the Son of the said Adversary,
 “ his Intent is not to do any Thing contrary to what he
 “ will promise by *these Presents*, which he is to give the
 “ King, but will punctually perform it.

1416.

“ That if out of Dissimulation the said Duke excepted
 “ the said Adversary, or the *Dauphin* his Son, for the sake
 “ of a greater Good, and for the better accomplishing the
 “ intended Project, his Will and Meaning is, that all such
 “ Exceptions are void and of no Effect.

“ And that all may know that this proceeds from his
 “ pure good Will, he will promise, and swear by his
 “ Faith and Loyalty, to observe without Fraud or Deceit
 “ *these Presents*. He will write all the *Articles* with his
 “ own Hand, subscribe them, and set his usual Seal to
 “ them.

All these Articles were drawn up in Form of *Letters* p. 395.
Patents, written and subscribed by the Duke of *Burgundy’s*
 own Hand, and sealed with his Privy-Seal.

Mezerai in his Abridgment of the History of *France*
 says, That the Desire of Rule transported the Duke of *Bur-*
gundy to such a Degree, that he went and conferred with
 the King of England at Calais, and renewed the Truces for
 his Dominions only, whereby he tied himself up in some Mea-
 sure from assisting the King of France. What would that
 Historian have said, had he known all? It is further to be
 remarked, that the Earl of *Charolois*, who was afterwards
 Duke of *Burgundy*, entered into the same Engagements as
 the Duke his Father. After this there is no room left to
 question the ill Designs these two Princes had entertained
 against *France* their native Country. They chose rather
 to behold it under the Dominion of Foreigners, than go-
 verned by their Enemies.

Before *Henry* left *Calais*, he concluded a Truce with *France* till the 2d of *February*: Which done, he returned *France*.
 to *England* about the Middle of *October*, in order to hold p. 397.

1416.

the Parliament which had been called for the 19th of the same Month. During this Session, the Parliament granted a *Subsidy* towards the carrying on of the War. But the *Subsidy* was so far short of his present Occasions, and so little proportioned to his Projects, that he was forced to pawn his Crown to the Bishop of *Winchester* his Uncle, for a Hundred Thousand Marks, and part of his Jewels to the City of *London* for Ten Thousand Pounds *Sterling*. This is a clear Evidence how many Difficulties he would have met with in the Conquest of *France* with his own Forces, if the Intestine Troubles of that Kingdom had not paved the Way for him. Nevertheless, in spite of his pressing Necessities, he assigned the Earl of *Dorset*, who had defended *Harfleur*, a Pension of a Thousand Pounds, upon his creating him *Duke of Exeter* *.

Henry resolves to renew the War.

Henry having bound the Duke of *Burgundy* by the secret Treaty he had just made with him, thought it time to renew the War. He knew, that he should have but one half of *France* to deal with, and that moreover the *Burgundian* Party would make a Diversion in his Favour, which could not but procure him great Advantages. Thus resolved, he made all the Preparations he judged necessary to compass his Ends. Mean while, as the Sum granted him by Parliament was not sufficient for his Purpose, and as the Money came but slowly into the *Exchequer*, he was very soon in great Want. To remedy this Inconveniency, he made use of the following Means. After he had settled the Pay of each Soldier, Horse and Foot, and of each Officer, according to every one's Rank and Character, he entered into private Contracts with several Lords and Gentlemen, whereby they were obliged to find him a certain Number of Horsemen or Footmen, for such an yearly Sum to be paid quarterly. The first Quarteridge was in hand; but when the second came to be paid, the King had no Money. To supply the present Occasion, he gave them in pawn all the Jewels he had left, with Letters under the *Great Seal*, empowering

His way of raising the Army.

* For Life only. *Dugd.*

empowering them to sell them, if the Money was not paid within such a Time. The Term allowed was Twelve or Eighteen Months, according as the Creditors were more or less tractable. By this Means he got time for the Payment of his Troops, which was a great Conveniency to him, as he could reimburse his Creditors as the Money came into the Treasury, without being obliged to pay them all at once. People were so well satisfied of his Honesty, that they made no Scruple to serve him, or lend him Money upon such Securities, which would have been little worth under a Prince of less Probity.

1416.

The Preparations which were carrying on in *England*, State of the Court of very justly alarmed the Court of *France*, which was scarce France. in a Condition to make the like. The Truce which the Duke of *Burgundy* had just made publickly with *Henry*, was a plain Sign that there was no Assistance to be expected either from the Duke or his Adherents. Nay the Court was apprehensive that the Duke had gone farther at the Conference he had held with the Enemy of the Kingdom: At least, he was very much suspected of having some ill Designs. So the *Constable* who sat at the Helm was under no small Perplexity. He enjoyed a large Share of Authority; but it was not without Uneasiness. Besides, since the Death of *John* the *Dauphin*, he was forc'd to keep very fair with the new *Dauphin*, for fear that young Prince should take it in his Head to govern without his Help. To all these Difficulties a fresh one was added, by the War the *English* were preparing to carry into *France*. As the Kingdom was in an ill Situation, and as the Enemy was like to make great Progress, he considered before-hand, that all the Blame would be laid at his Door. In this perplexed State, he thought his best way would be to try to put a Stop to the King of *England's* Arms by an extraordinary Negotiation, which should give that Prince room to believe, the Court of *France* would be forced to make Peace, though never so unwilling. He was well aware, that if he should himself treat about a Peace, it would be lost Labour, because all the World believ'd it was his Interest that Affairs should remain embroiled, to the

1416.

the end he might preserve his Authority. It was therefore very unlikely that the King of *England* should suffer himself to be amused by any Proposal which could come from him. For this Reason he thought proper to make use of the Prisoners who were in *England*, and particularly of the Duke of *Bourbon*. We find in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, several Safe-Conducts dated at one and the same time, for the Domesticks of the Duke of *Bourbon* going to and coming from *France*, under divers Pretences. There is room therefore to presume it was then that the Plot was formed, and that the Duke of *Bourbon* did nothing in the Business I am going to relate, but by Consent of the Court of *France*.

Act. Pub.
IX. 427.

This Plot was so finely laid, that if the King had not always been upon his Guard, he would doubtless have been over-reached. But his firm Resolution not to interrupt the Execution of his Designs upon the Score of any Offers that should be short of his Demands, caused him to escape the Snare. The Dukes of *Orleans* and *Bourbon*, the Earls of *Eu* and *Vendôme*, and some other Prisoners, making as if they thought the Affairs of *France* in a desperate Condition, gave *Henry* to understand that they were willing to make a separate Treaty with him for themselves. This was hinted to him, not as a Thing resolved, but as what they might easily be brought to. But the King, fearing that on this Pretence they had a mind to retard his Voyage, gave no great heed to the Overture.

Negotiation
between
Henry and
the French
Prisoners;

Some Time after, these same Princes, who till then had tried to manage Matters so as the Proposals might come from him, seeing they could not have their Aim, broke the Ice themselves. At an Audience which they demanded, they made known their Mind, and entreated him to acquaint them with his Pretensions, adding, they did not question but they should return him a satisfactory Answer without any Prejudice to their Honour. The King, who would not be dallied with, roundly told them, that he had no other Proposal to make, but that they should acknowledge him for King of *France*, and their lawful Sovereign. The Duke of *Orleans* exclaimed against this Proposal, and

plainly

plainly told him, they had no Answer to return to such a Demand. Matters went no farther for this Time. 1416.

But a few Weeks after the Duke of *Bourbon* resumed the Affair. He told the King, that since they had the Honour to talk with him, several of the Prisoners had dispatched Agents to *France*, to inform themselves exactly about his Title to the Kingdom of *France*, and had received greater Light in that Matter than they had before. He added, for his Part he was fully convinced of the Justice of his Cause. Then he said, he had been told, that notwithstanding his just Claim to the whole Kingdom, he had offered to withdraw it, on Condition certain Provinces were given up to him, and in his Opinion that Offer ought not to be rejected: That the other Prisoners were of his Mind, and had resolved to do all that lay in their Power to procure him what he desired: That therefore he begged leave to go to *France*, and declare to King *Charles* in the Name of all the Prisoners, that as faithful Subjects they could not but advise him to close with this Expedient for a Peace, and pray him to except so reasonable an Offer. In short, the Duke added, that if the Court of *France* consented to the Offer, *Henry* might this very Year be put in Possession of the Provinces which should be yielded up. But if on the contrary it was rejected, the Princes would look upon themselves as freed from the Oath they had taken to their King. The Duke engaged for his own Part to put all his fortified Towns in the Hands of certain Persons, who he should be sure would deliver them up when he pleased. He promised to return to *England* by the Time which should be set him, and own *Henry* for King of *France*, and do him Homage as his lawful Sovereign. Moreover, he added, that he would make appear so evidently the Justice of *Henry's* Right to the Crown of *France*, that all the World should be satisfied he could not dispense with doing him Homage, without running counter to his Honour. In fine, he entreated the King to keep the Matter secret till his Return, by reason of the Danger he should run, in case it should come to be known during his Stay in *France*.

Particu-
larly the
Duke of
Bourbon.

Private
Engage-
ment of the
Duke of
Bourbon.

Henry

1416.

*He has
leave to go
to France.*

*The Pro-
ject comes
to nothing.*

A&A. Pub.
IX. 456.

Henry could not tell what to think of this Matter. He knew very well that it was neither the Duke of *Orleans* nor the Duke of *Bourbon* that governed *France*, and that it was not the Earl of *Armagnac's* Interest to make a Peace upon these Terms. But then the Prospect of recovering the Provinces of *France*, lost since the Treaty of *Bretigny*, without being obliged to renew the War, was very agreeable. On the other Hand, the Option proposed to him by the Duke, could not but be advantageous to him. All he had to do, was to take care not to suspend the Execution of his Projects upon this Account. Wherefore, having resolved not to put off his Expedition one single Day, upon any Score whatever, he believed there was no Danger in granting the Duke of *Bourbon* the Leave he desired. But first, he had one of the Duke's Sons given him in Hostage, with Security for the Sum of Two Hundred Thousand Crowns. These Particulars are in *the Collection of the Publick Acts*. We find there a Letter written with the King's own Hand to *Tiptoft*, his Ambassador to the Emperor, wherein he orders him to acquaint *Sigismund* with the Secret, to ask his Opinion upon it, and assure him that the Negotiation shall not retard his Expedition to *France* one Moment. He enjoyns him withal not to say a word of the Matter to any Man but the Emperor alone, on Pain of his heavy Displeasure. In all probability, his firm Resolution not to be amused by any Proposal, was the Reason this Stratagem was carried no farther. The Duke of *Bourbon* returned into *England*: but performed not his other Engagements. It was doubtless *Henry's* Indignation against the Prisoners for endeavouring to over-reach him, that caused him to order them to be confined in *Pontfract* Castle, whereas before they were upon their *Parole*. Though there are no positive Proofs that this Plot was contrived by the *Constable*, yet it appears by several Circumstances, which taken together amount to a sort of Demonstration. It would be too long to give the Particulars here. But if any one chuses to suppose that the *French* Prisoners acted sincerely, without the Direction of the *Constable*, it must be inferred that *France*

was

was then in a very wretched Condition. King *Charles*, frequently seized with Fits of *Lunacy*, was incapable of taking Care of his Affairs. The Duke of *Burgundy*, first Peer of the Realm, and Head of a powerful Party, had made a secret Alliance with the Enemy of the State. The Princes of the Blood were upon the Point of acknowledging *Henry* for King of *France*. In a word, the Kingdom was governed by a young Prince of fourteen Years of age, and by the Earl of *Armagnac*, a Hot and Boisterous Man, who only sought to be revenged of his Enemies, and openly sacrificed the publick Good to his Ambition.

Though the *Constable* had already done a good deal of Mischief to *France*, by persecuting the Duke of *Burgundy*, and forcing him as it were to throw himself into the Arms of the King of *England*, yet he did not think he had done enough to secure his Quiet. *Isabella* of *Bavaria*, Wife of *Charles* VI, appeared so out of Humour to see herself reduced to be ruled by a Subject, that he could not forbear being apprehensive that she would in the end find means to strip him of his Authority. This was not impossible. The King being of an easy Temper, it would have been no hard Matter to gain him, in one of his Intervals. Neither was it impracticable to persuade the *Dauphin* to cast off a troublesome Governour, that he might rule as he pleased without control. Thus the *Constable's* Destiny hanging by so weak a Thread, whilst he had such an Enemy at Court, he believed that in order to secure himself, it was absolutely necessary to get her removed. The Queen gave him a sufficient Handle against her by her Behaviour, which was not altogether conformable to the Rules of Decency. The *Constable* taking this Advantage, inspired the King and *Dauphin* with such strong Suspicions against her, that he got her to be sent away to *Tours*, where she remained as a Prisoner, not knowing who to confide in, in order to try to free herself out of Captivity. This fatal Policy of the *Constable* was a fresh Source of Calamities which overwhelmed *France*. The injured Mother could never forgive her Son the Affront she had received, and unfortunately for the Kindom it was but too much in her Power to glut her Revenge.

1416.
Wretched
Condition
of France.

The Con-
stable gets
the Queen
banished to
Tours.

The Con-
stable
causes the
Queen to
be sent off
to Tours.

The Queen
hates the
Dauphin
mortally.

146.
The Duke
of Burgun-
dy takes
up Arms.

He ap-
proaches
Paris.

Henry
lands at
Touque.

Act. Pub.
IX. 479—
490.

Perplexity
of the
Court of
France,

The violent Proceedings of the *Constable*, the Death of the two *Dauphins* laid to his charge, the Banishment of the Queen, and a Thousand other Things, furnished the Duke of *Burgundy* with a Pretence to make a Diversion in Favour of the King of *England*. He published a *Manifesto* against the *Constable*, wherein he aggravated his Faults and Oppressions with all the Resentment of an injured Enemy. Then he wrote to the King, that as first *Peer* of *France*, it was incumbent upon him to endeavour to prevent the utter Ruin of the Kingdom, which was infallibly going to Destruction, unless timely relieved. By the same Reasons, he tried to stir up the Cities of the Kingdom, and win them to his Side. In fine, perceiving that some of the Towns had already declared for him, he approached *Paris* at the Head of an Army, at the same Time that the King of *England* was ready to set sail for *France*. His Aim was to bring the *Dauphin* and *Constable* under a Necessity, either of quitting *Paris*, to go and make Head against the King of *England*, or of suffering the *English* to act without Opposition, if they had a mind to save *Paris*. They thought fit to take this last Course, chusing rather that Part of the Kingdom should fall into the Hands of the *English*, than to see themselves dispossessed of the Government by their private Enemies.

Henry willing to lay hold of so favourable a Juncture, set sail about the End of *July*, and landed at *Touque* in *Normandy*. His Army consisted but of twenty-five Thousand five Hundred effective Men, too inconsiderable a Number for the Conquest of *France*, had he not been sure of meeting little Opposition. Upon his Arrival he besieged the Castle of *Touque*, and became Master of it the 9th of *August*. Then after taking some other small Places, he laid Siege to *Caen*, which surrendered the 9th of *September*.

The Court of *France* was then in great Perplexity. The Duke of *Burgundy*, close at the Gates of *Paris*, hindered the settling the Affairs of the Kingdom. The *French* should have had two Armies in the Field, one to oppose the *Burgundians*, and another to defend *Normandy* against the *English*.

English. But they had hardly Troops enough to defend 1416,
Paris, where the King, *Dauphin* and *Constable* were shut
 up. The only Remedy left was to renew the Negotiations
 with *Henry*. To that End, they demanded a Conference p. 494.
 between the Ambassadors of the two Crowns, to consult a- Henry
 bout Means to conclude a Peace. *Henry* agreed to the Pro- consents to
 posal, but without discontinuing the War, being unwilling a Confe-
 to lose so favourable an Opportunity. The Court of rence.
France having made choice of the Archbishop of *Rheims* p. 496.
 for first Plenipotentiary, he appointed on his Part, the Earl
 of *Warwick* and some others, who were to meet the
French, at *Bernonville*, in *Normandy*. This Congress, He conti-
 for what Reason I know not, was put off to the end nues his
 of *November*. Mean while *Henry* became Master of *Bay-* Conquests.
eux, *Argentan*, *Chateau de l' Aigle*, *Alençon*, and some 501, 502.
 other Places.

Whilst the King was continuing his Conquests, the Isabella
 Duke of *Burgundy* did him very signal Service, not joins with
 only by the Diversion he made about *Paris*, but chiefly by the Duke
 increasing the Troubles in *France*, in such a manner as ne- of Burgun-
 ver more to be appeased. Queen *Isabella*, banished to *Tours*, dy,
 had been hitherto an Enemy to the Duke of *Burgundy*;
 but the desire of being revenged of the *Dauphin* and *Con-*
stable, made her overlook all the Causes of Disgust she had
 against the Duke. As she had no other Course to take,
 she dispatched trusty Messengers to let him know she was
 inclined to join in a league with him against their common
 Enemies. The Duke readily closed with the Offer, and pri-
 vately concerted Measures with her, to free her out of Pri-
 son. Which done, he departed suddenly from *Corbeil*, where
 he was encamped, taking with him only a small Body of cho-
 sen Horsemen. He made such speed; that before his Design who car-
 could be known, he was at the Abby of *Marmoutier* close ries her
 by *Tours*, where he found the Queen, who was come thi- off from
 ther under Colour of Devotion. As she had not been sus- Tours.
 pected of attempting her Escape, he carried her off with
 ease, and conducted her to *Troye* in *Campagne*. As soon She files
 as she saw herself in a Place of safety, she assumed the Title herself Re-
 of gent.

1416. of *Regent*, pretending that the King her Husband was held in Captivity by the *Dauphin* and Earl of *Armagnac*.

Henry takes several Places. Whilst these Things passed, *Henry* made several Conquests in *Normandy*, without any one's attempting to oppose him. The *Constable* chose rather to see the State perish, than resign his Authority, and the Duke of *Burgundy* seconded *Henry* to the utmost of his Power.

Congress of Bernonville. The Conference between the Plenipotentiaries of the two Crowns was held at *Bernonville*, on the 28th of *November*. As *Henry* suspected that the Court of *France* sought only to make him lose Time, he resolved to frustrate their Design. Immediately upon the opening of the Conference, his Ambassadors set forth his Pretensions, giving to understand, that not an Inch would be abated. The Substance of his Offers was, That he would marry the Princess *Catharine*: That King *Charles* should enjoy the Crown for his Life, but that after his Death, it should fall to the King of *England*: That during *Charles's* Life, *Henry* should be *Regent* of *France*, by Reason of the King's Infirmary. Moreover he demanded such Securities as should render the Performance of all these Articles unquestionable. But as the *French* Ambassadors were not sufficiently im-

The Conference breaks up. powered to treat upon these Articles, and as it was not *Henry's* Interest to prolong to no Purpose this Negotiation, the Congress immediately broke up. He was justly apprehensive that the Court of *France* would have made use of this Occasion to raise a Jealousy in his Allies, and particularly in the Duke of *Burgundy*. Mean while *Henry* having stuck close to the Siege of *Falaise*, took the Town on the 20th of *December*; but the Castle held out till *February*.

Falaise taken. 532, 541. Truce with Bretagne. &c. p. 506, 511, 512. Some Time before the Congress of *Bernonville*, the Duke of *Bretagne* came to *Henry* and made a Truce with him for a Year, and another for the same time, in the Name of the Queen of *Sicily* as Guardian of *Lewis* her Son, for *Anjou* and *Maine*. Thus by degrees *Henry* greatly weakened *France*, by depriving her of the Assistance she might have received from her *Vassals*.

Whilst

Whilst the King was employed in *France*, *Oldcastle*, of whom I have spoken elsewhere, was seized and brought to *London*, to the great Satisfaction of the *Clergy*, who were extremely incensed against him. They were determined to make a Sacrifice of him, for a Terror to all the rest of the *Lollards*. Notwithstanding his Birth and Merit, he was sentenced to be hung up by the Middle with a Chain and burnt alive. By the Way, his being burnt is a clear Evidence that he was condemned for *Heresy*, rather than for conspiring against the King. However, his Sentence was executed amidst the Curies and Imprecations of the Priests and Monks, who even laboured to prevent the People from praying for him. Thus died Sir *John Oldcastle* Baron of *Cobham*, with a wonderful Resolution answerable to the Courage he had all along shown in maintaining the *Doctrine* of *Wickliff* which he professed. He was the first Nobleman that suffered for the sake of Religion. After this Execution, the Parliament pass'd new *Statutes*, in order to complete the utter Extirpation of the *Lollards*, the *Clergy* never ceasing to require their Blood with all the eagerness imaginable.

14 6.

Some Historians say, that in this very Year Queen *Blanch* of *Navarre*, Widow of *Henry IV*, and Mother-in-law of the present King, was accused of conspiring with her Confessor against the King. Some add, that she was condemned to a Ten-Years Imprisonment, and that her Confessor was killed by the Chaplain of the Tower, with whom he had quarrelled upon that Occasion. This is all that can be said about this Matter, of which Historians speak very confusedly.

The Queen Dowager is accused of Conspiracies against the King.
Speed,
Stow.

As to the *Scotch* Invasion which some place in this Year, and which as they assure us, was repulsed by the Duke of *Bedford*, with an Army of a Hundred Thousand Men, I dare venture to affirm it is all a Mistake, since we find not the least Footsteps of it, either in the *Publick Records*, or in the Histories of *Scotland*. All we meet with relating to the *Scots*, is, that they threatened to attack *England* towards the Middle of the Year 1415, about the Time of the King's first Expedition into *France*.

Pretended Invasion of the Scots refused.

The

1418.
Henry
takes several
Places
in Nor-
mandy.
Act. Pub.
IX. 545--
618.

The Posture of Affairs in *France* made *Henry's* Way to Conquest smooth and easy. Therefore he did not fail to make the best of it. The Campaign which he had begun in *August*, lasted all the Winter, without any Interruption, so that his Troops had no Time to rest. The Castle of *Falaise* having surrendered on the 20th of *February*, *Henry* divided his Army into several Bodies, of which he gave the Command to the Dukes of *Clarence* and *Gloucester* his Brothers, to the Duke of *Exeter* and Earl of *Salisbury*, with Orders to go and attack several Places at once, being resolved not to let slip so fair an Opportunity. In the Months of *March* and *April*, he became Master of *St. Lo*, *Carentan*, *St. Sauveur le Vicomte*, and many other Places in *Normandy*; So that of all the strong Towns, he only wanted *Cherbourg* and *Roan* to complete the Conquest of that Province. *Evreux* surrendered in *May*, and presently after he went and laid Siege to *Cherbourg*, which cost him three Months.

Cherbourg
holds out
3 Months.

Martin V.
tries to u-
nitate the two
Factions in
France.

During the Siege, the Court of *France* underwent a new Revolution, disadvantageous to *Henry*, though at first it seemed to afford him a good Prospect. The Council of *Constance*, which had been opened ever since the Year 1414, having deposed the three Popes * who contended for the *Papacy*, had elected on the 10th of *November* 1417 Cardinal *Colonna*, who assumed the Name of *Martin V.* The new Pope upon his mounting the *Papal* Throne, sent two *Legates* into *France*, to try to appease the Troubles and unite the two Factions. The Sollicitations of these *Legates* were so powerful, that the two Parties sent their Deputies to *Montereau-Faut-Yonne*, where it was agreed, that the *Dauphin* and Duke of *Burgundy* should jointly govern the Kingdom during the King's Infirmary. If this Agreement had taken Place, and the two Parties been reconciled in good earnest, in all likelihood *Henry's* Affairs would have received a notable Prejudice. But the *Constable* and the Chancellor his

May 17.
Agreement
between
the two
Parties,

* *John XXIII* at *Rome*, *Gregory XII* at *Bimini*, and *Benedict XIII* at *Avignon*. See the History of this Council at large, at the End of Vol. VI.

his Creature, could never bear to see the Duke of *Burgundy* in the Administration again. So preferring their own private Interests to the Good of the Publick, they managed it so, that the Agreement became of no Effect.

1418.
rendered of
no Effect by
the Constable.

This Proceeding drew the Hatred of the Publick on the *Constable*, and increased the *Burgundian* Faction in *Paris*, which from thenceforth became much more powerful. At length, *May* the 18th at Night, they found Means to introduce into *Paris*, *Lisle-Adam* Governour of *Pontoise*, a zealous Stickler for the Duke of *Burgundy*. He got in with no more than eight-hundred Horse; but upon his coming, the *Burgundians* being under Arms, made a terrible Slaughter of the *Armagnac's*. *Tanneguy de Châtel*, Governor of the *Bastille*, not being able to remedy the Disorder, ran in all haste to the *Louvre*, and carried off the *Dauphin* with only his Shirt on, in order to screen him from Danger in his Fortess. Next Morning, the *Dauphin* fled to *Melun*, not thinking himself safe in the *Bastille*; but the King was left in the Hands of the *Burgundians*. The same Day the *Constable*, being got into a Mason's House, was discovered and thrown into Prison.

The *Burgundians*
become
Masters of
Paris,

and murder
the *Armagnacs*.

The *Dauphin* is
sav'd,

and the
Constable
taken.

But this was only a Prelude to a much greater Commotion which happened in the same Place some Days after. Upon News of what had passed, the Exiles being returned to *Paris* from all Quarters, the Massacre was renewed *June* the 12th. The *Constable* was hauled out of Prison, murdered, and shamefully dragged along the Streets. The Chancellor, several Bishops, and other Persons to the Number of above two Thousand, underwent the same barbarous Treatment. The Massacre being pretty well over, the Queen and Duke of *Burgundy* came to *Paris*, and entered the City in Triumph on the 14th of *July*. The Plague which broke out afterwards at *Paris*, and which in three Months Space, swept away above Forty Thousand Persons, added fresh Calamities to those I have just mentioned. Mean while the Queen and Duke having the King in their Power, issued out in his Name what Orders they judged most conducive of their own Interests. On the other Hand, the *Dauphin* having taken the Title of *Regent*, threatened all

Fresh Massacre at
Paris.

The Queen
and Duke of
Burgundy
enter *Paris*,

and govern
in the King's
Name.

The *Dauphin* styles
himself *Regent*
who

1418.

who should pay Obedience to the Duke of *Burgundy*. Thus which Side soever the *French* espoused, they were sure of being called Rebels by one or other of the two Factions. Nay standing Neuter was accounted a Crime.

Agreement
between
the two
Factions;

Mean while, notwithstanding the Animosity of the two Parties, the Troubles seemed for some Time likely to end. As there had not been as yet any Cause of personal Enmity between the *Dauphin* and Duke of *Burgundy*, the Duke of *Bretagne* had managed Matters so, that these two Princes had each for his Part consented to an Accommodation.

broke off by
the Dau-
phin.

Every Thing was agreed; but they who were about the *Dauphin*, perswaded him not to sign; which was attended with fatal Consequences. Thus the Dissention which prevailed between the two Factions, caused each of them to have two Enemies to deal with, the opposite Party on one Side, and the *English* on the other. But *Henry* was very far from looking upon both Parties with the same Eye. He was sworn Enemy of the *Armagnac's*, and but a feigned one of the *Burgundians*.

Truce in
Guienne
between
Henry and
the Gas-
con- Re-
bels.

July 17.
Act. Pub.
IX. 602.

Henry had already begun to reap some Benefit from the late Revolution in the Court of *France*. The new Earl of *Armagnac*, the Lord d' *Albret*, and the other *Gascon* Lords of the same Party, who were waging in *Guienne* fierce War with the *English*, thought fit to conclude a Truce with him, which freed him of a troublesome Diversion. These Lords considering that, since the Death of the *Constable*, the Government of *France* was in the Hands of the Duke of *Burgundy*, believed it repugnant to their Interest to continue a War, of which their Enemy would reap all the Advantage. By this Truce, instead of being obliged to send Supplies to *Guienne*, *Henry* drew from thence some Troops, with which he reinforced his Army in *Normandy*.

The taking
of Cher-
burg.
p. 618.

Cherburg having at length capitulated, after a three Months Siege, *France* had nothing left in *Normandy* but *Roan*, the Loss whereof would cut off all Hopes of recovering that Province. And therefore, without delay, *Henry* went and laid Siege to that City about the latter End of *August*, or beginning of *September*. *Mezerai* says the
Siege

Siege began in *June*, which is a Mistake. Be that as it will, it was very remarkable, for the vigorous Defence of the Besieged, who held out five Months, and endured the greatest Hardships before they capitulated. They applied at first to the Duke of *Burgundy* for Succours; but it was to no Purpose. *France* in changing Governor, had not acquired new Strength. Besides, the Duke of *Burgundy*, treading in the Steps of the Earl of *Armagnac*, was more careful how to support himself against the Practices of his Enemies, than to oppose the Progress of the King of *England*. He put however the Pope's Legates upon trying, whether by a Negotiation he could interrupt the Siege of *Roan*. This Method not succeeding, he drew together all the Forces he had, and made as if he intended to give the *English* Battle. He even carried the King as far as *Beauvais*; but all this ended in nothing. Perhaps he did not much care to obstruct the King of *England's* Progress. It is uncertain, whether after his being at the Head of the Government, he retained the same Inclination for that Monarch, as he had when banished from Court. It may at least be affirmed, that he had not the same Reason to favour his Arms. He could not however dispense with keeping fair with a Prince who had in his Hand a *Writing* capable of ruining him with all the *French*, of what Party soever. For this Reason, since the Revolution in the Court of *France*, his Behaviour was all along doubtful. He seems to have resolved to do neither Good nor Hurt to the King of *England*, till such Time as the Event should help to determine him.

The Duke of *Burgundy* not relieving the Besieged, they applied to the *Dauphin*, who was no longer in a Condition to raise the Siege by Force of Arms. The way of Negotiation seemed to him more proper to produce that Effect. It is hard to know for certain whether he really intended to make an Alliance with *Henry*, as he declared he had a Mind to do, or whether he designed only to amuse him. However, he sent him Word, that he wanted to treat with him about three Articles. First, about the Means of procuring a Peace for *France*. Secondly, about the

1418.
Siege of
Roan.
p. 619.
Several
Attempts
to save
that Place.

The Dau-
phin offers
to make an
Alliance
with
Henry.

1418.
Act. Pub.
IX. 626.

p. 628.

The King's
Instructions
to his
Ambassa-
dors.

Marriage already intended. Lastly, about an Alliance between them two, against the Duke of *Burgundy*. Henry rejected not these Proposals. Perhaps he did not much rely on the Duke of *Burgundy*, or else he had a mind to raise the Jealousy of the Court of *France*, in order to procure more advantageous Offers than had yet been made him. He appointed for his Ambassadors at the Congress demanded by the *Dauphin*, the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Earls of *Warwick* and *Salisbury*, *Philip Morgan*, and some others. Their *Instructions* dated at the Camp before *Roan*, October the 26th, were in Substance as follows :

I. That they should use their utmost Endeavours to get the *Dauphin's* Ambassadors to declare all they had Orders to offer, and absolutely to reject all Proposals tending only to the yielding up what he was already possessed of.

II. On Supposition that the *French* should offer at length to put all things upon the Foot of the *Treaty of Bretigny*, he would have them start Difficulties about the doing it, seeing the *Dauphin* was not authorized for that Purpose.

III. He judged, that thereby they might be brought to demand a longer Truce, in which case he ordered that they should be asked what they were willing to yield upon that Consideration.

IV. He expressly forbid his Ambassadors to treat of an Alliance with the *Dauphin* till the Peace or Truce was settled. He left not them however at liberty to conclude either : but ordered Notice to be sent him when Matters should be upon the Point of Conclusion, in case Things were carried so far.

V. As to the Alliance with the *Dauphin* he said, that in all Appearance that Prince's Aim was to obtain from him an Aid against the Duke of *Burgundy*. If so, he forbade them to agree upon an inconsiderable Aid ; but commanded them to tender Forces sufficient to restore the Kingdom of *France* to a State of Tranquillity.

VI. But at the same Time, he expected that in Consideration of these Forces, the Earldoms of *Artois*, *Bulloign* and *Flanders*, should be yielded up to him. But if his

Am-

Ambassadors could not obtain all this, he gave them Leave to confine their Demands to the Earldom of *Flanders* only, provided the *Dauphin* would assist him in the Conquest of it. He offered on his Part to give up to the *Dauphin* whatever should be conquered elsewhere upon the Duke of *Burgundy*.

1418.

It is easy to see by these *Instructions* that the King did not believe this Congress would end in a Peace: nay, that he did not so much as design to agree with the *Dauphin*, who was not empowered to yield up to the King what had been taken from his Predecessors since *the Treaty of Bretigny*. There is room then to presume, that his sole Aim was to stir up the Jealousy of the Duke of *Burgundy*, who being Master of the King's Person, was alone able to make a solid Peace. This appears moreover by the King's writing the very Day he signed these *Instructions* to the Duke of *Burgundy*, that if the Negotiation for a Peace was renewed, he would do what in him lay to bring Matters to a good Issue. Upon this Letter, *Charles* sent him back word, that he had nominated the Bishops of *Arras* and *Beauvais*, the first President of *Morvilliers*, and some others, for his Plenipotentiaries. Thus *Henry* was in hopes that by treating with the two Parties at once, he should raise such Jealousy in both, that from thence would result a happy Conclusion to his Affairs.

The King's View in treating with the Dauphin.

Act. Pub. IX. 631.

The Congress between the Ambassadors of the King and the *Dauphin* was held at *Alençon*, the 26th of *November*. The *English*, pursuant to their *Instructions*, absolutely refused to treat about the Alliance, before the Terms of the Peace were agreed upon. At length after having evaded all the captious Proposals made them by the *French*, they obliged them to come to their last Offers; namely, the Towns and Provinces specified in *the Treaty of Bretigny*, on Condition of doing Homage for them to the Crown of *France*. But the *English* rejected these Offers, unless the *Sovereignty* of the Provinces was added, according to the Tenor of *the Treaty of Bretigny*. They demanded moreover *Normandy*: raised Difficulties about the *Dauphin's*

Congress of Alençon.
p. 632.

1418.

not being able to perform these Conditions, and wanted to know in what manner he intended to accomplish them, supposing their Master should be satisfied with them. The *French* made answer, that it was needless to talk of the manner of Performance, since the Offers themselves did not please. Whereupon they broke up the Conference.

Another
between
the Am-
bassadors
of the two
Kings of
no Effect.

Ibid.
655—659.

Hardly was this Congress over, before another was held at *Pont de l' Arche*, between the Plenipotentiaries of the two Kings, or rather the Ambassadors of the two Crowns met with design to confer together in the Presence of the Pope's *Legates*. But just as they were about to begin, King *Charles's* Ambassador insisted that the *Records* of the Conference should be written in *French*, to which the *English* refused to agree. In fine, at the Instance of the *Legates*, who bestirred themselves mightily in the Business, *Henry* was willing to agree that there should be two *Protocols*, one in *French* and another in *Latin*, of which the last only should be accounted authentick. But the *French* rejecting this Expedient, the Conference about the Peace was not so much as opened. In all likelihood the Duke of *Burgundy* did not intend seriously to enter into Negotiation. He was still undetermined what Course he should take, or rather he was then hatching a Design which we shall see come to light the next Year.

1419.
The Dau-
phin
wants to
renew the
Treaty.
Act. Pub.
IX. 661,
672.

This Conference however alarmed the *Dauphin*, who, no doubt, was ignorant of what passed. He was apprehensive the Duke of *Burgundy* would be beforehand with him, being very sensible that in case a Peace was made between the two Kings, it could not but tend to his Prejudice. In this Belief he sent to *Henry*, intreating him to appoint the Place where the Negotiation begun at *Alençon* might be renewed. *Henry* readily consented to his Request, not being able to wish for any thing more to his Advantage, than the mutual Jealousy of the two Factions. It was agreed therefore, that the Ambassadors should meet at *Louviers* in the Beginning of *February*.

The taking
of Roan.
Ibid.
p. 664.

During all these Negotiations, *Henry* had not discontinued one Moment the Siege of *Roan*, though the Sharpness of the Season made his Army suffer very much. But the
Besieged

Besieged underwent no less Hardships. Reduced to eat the Flesh of Horses, and all kinds of Animals; and even this sort of Food failing them, they could hold out no longer. Wherefore, seeing there was no help, they capitulated on the 13th of *January*, to surrender on the 19th, in case they were not relieved by that Time. *Henry* maintained them in all their Privileges for the Sum of Three hundred Thousand Crowns. By the Surrender of *Roan*, all *Normandy*, a few Castles excepted, fell again under the Dominion of the Kings of *England*, Two-hundred and Fifteen Years after it was taken from them by *Philip Augustus*, in the Reign of *John Lack-land*. After the taking of *Roan*, *Henry* sent Part of his Army to *Picardy*, under the Command of the Duke of *Exeter*, who became Master of *Dieppe* and *Montreuil*.

1419.

February,
667—682

Affairs were then at a *Crisis*, which could not fail of producing some great Change. As the Duke of *Burgundy* had sought the Alliance of the King of *England*, only to get the better of the *Dauphin* and Earl of *Armagnac*, he stood no longer in need of his Aid, seeing he was become Master of *Paris*, and the King's Person. On the contrary, the Station he was in must have made him wish that *Henry* might not grow too powerful in *France*, and consequently it was his Interest to oppose the Progress of the *English* Arms. But on the other hand, he had in the *Dauphin* a sworn Enemy, against whom it was necessary chiefly to secure himself. Besides the natural Right that Prince had to govern the Kingdom during the Infirmary of the King his Father; he was moreover at the Head of a strong Party: Then it was not impossible, that either by the King's Death, or some other way, he might regain the Ground he had lost. In which Case the Duke would sooner have had *Henry* Master of all *France*, than see the *Dauphin* uppermost. Mean while, what Turn soever Affairs should take, he plainly perceived, it would not be in his Power to preserve his Authority, though *Henry* should succeed in his Designs. And indeed, it was not likely that *Henry* would trust him with the Government, when once he had got Possession. Thus standing

The Duke
of Bur-
gundy
takes new
Measures.

as

1419.

*He resolves
to be
Friends
with the
Dauphin.*

as it were between two Precipices, he remained some Time unresolv'd, not knowing what Course to take. In all probability it was this that prevented him from attempting more vigorously the Relief of *Roan*. He durst not break with the King of *England*, for fear he should want his Assistance against the *Dauphin*. After he had continued some Time in this State of Perplexity, he determin'd at length to do all that lay in his Power to be reconcil'd with his Enemy, that he might safely break with the King of *England*. This Course seem'd to him both advantagious and honourable. By a hearty Reconciliation with the *Dauphin*, he might hope to have some lasting Share in the Government of the Kingdom, and to hold the second Rank: Besides, *France* being his native Country, he could not openly forsake her Interests without rendring himself odious to all honest *Frenchmen*. If he had privately made such a Step already, it was not without Remorse. The sole Thirst of Revenge had hurried him away. The Execution however of the Design he had formed, was not without its Difficulties. The *Dauphin* had conceived against him an inveterate Hatred, which was continually fomented by the Friends and Adherents of the late Duke of *Orleans*, who were always about him, and carefully watching all Opportunities to revenge the Death of that Prince. In spite of these Obstacles, the Duke of *Burgundy* became more and more confirm'd in his Resolution, not seeing any other way to save himself and the Kingdom. He undertook therefore to bring about this Reconciliation by all sorts of Means, even to the forcing the *Dauphin* to it, from the Fear of seeing *France* without it entirely lost. In short, if it should happen that the *Dauphin's* Hatred and Obstinacy should render their being made Friends impracticable, he was determin'd to take the desperate Course of helping *Henry* to become Master of *France*.

*Conference
of Lou-
viers.
Act. Pub.
IX. 686,
701, 703.*

At the Time the Duke of *Burgundy* came to his last Resolution, the Conference between the Ambassadors of *Henry* and the *Dauphin* was held at *Louviers*. The same Difficulties which had occur'd at the Congress of *Alençon*, rendered this fruitless. It was only agreed, that the King
and

and *Dauphin* should confer together in Person. But this Interview, which was twice put off, took not place, because the *Dauphin* entered into other Measures. Mean while, to keep alive the Jealousy of the Duke of *Burgundy*, *Henry* granted the *Dauphin* a Truce, from the 12th of February till Easter, for all the Country lying between the *Loire* and *Seine*, *Normandy* excepted.

1419.

Truce with
the *Dauphin*.
p. 692.

Pursuant to the Scheme the Duke of *Burgundy* had laid, he lent and sued for the *Dauphin's* Friendship, offering on his Part to do all that lay in his Power to deserve and cultivate it. He let him know withal, that it would be proper they should hold a Conference together, as well mutually to confirm their Reconciliation, as to concert Measures for the Welfare of the Kingdom. But the *Dauphin* rejected this Proposal with great Disdain. He was too much afraid of sharing the Authority with the Queen his Mother, and the Duke of *Burgundy*, or rather of seeing himself subject to them. The sole Command of the Provinces which owned him for *Regent*, seemed to him preferable to the Advantage they would have made him hope for, from a Reconciliation which could not be made without leaving the Queen his Mother, and the Duke a Share in the Administration. Thus the Duke of *Burgundy* saw himself reduced to a Necessity of endeavouring in good earnest to make Peace with *England*, in case the *Dauphin* persisted in his Obstinacy. The Congress at *Louviers* having alarmed him, he was afraid of being prevented, and by that Means of not being strong enough to make Head against the King of *England* and the *Dauphin*, if they should happen to join in a League against him. He resolved therefore, in order to rid himself of this Fear, to unravel Matters which way soever it could be done. With this View he sent *Henry* word, that King *Charles* was inclined to a Peace; and to make the Way to it the easier, he proposed an Interview, where the two Kings, assisted by their respective Councils, might settle the Terms, and conclude the intended Marriage. *Henry* readily closed with the Proposal. He even granted a Truce for three Months, that during the Inter-

The *Dauphin* refuses
to be reconciled with
the Duke of
Burgundy.

The Duke
proposes a
Peace to
Henry.
Act. Pub.
IX. 696,
709, 724.

val

1419. val they might agree upon the Time, Place, and Manner of the Interview.

Fruitless Attempts to reconcile the Dauphin with the Duke of Burgundy

All *France* was justly alarmed at this Resolution. People easily perceived that the Peace and Marriage could not be made at such a Juncture, without the Kingdom's being yielded up to the King of *England*. Matters standing thus, some Lords who had the Welfare and Interest of their Country at heart, left no Stone unturned to procure a Peace, or at least a Truce between the *Dauphin* and the Duke of *Burgundy*. The *Dauphin* would have agreed to a Truce for three Years, but the Duke would have it to be only for two Months. His Aim was to strike up a Peace with *England*, if by that Time Matters could not be accommodated with the *Dauphin*. The Pains that were taken to bring them to so necessary an Union proving fruitless, the Project of the Interview between the two Kings was at length brought about, after it had been put off several times, till the 30th of *May*. It was agreed, that it should be near *Meulan*, in a Field pitched upon for that purpose, where a magnificent Pavilion was ordered to be erected. As King *Charles's* Infirmary hindered him from being present in Person, it was agreed, that his Queen and the Duke of *Burgundy* should act as his *Proxies*, and that the Duke of *Bretagne* should be there. Mean time, to avoid the Heats and Contests which might arise in debating Matters, Commissioners were appointed on both sides to settle the Particulars. *Henry* was pleased to give the Dukes of *Clarence* and *Glocester* the Honour of being Heads of this Commission. The Court of *France* being at *Pontoise*, *Henry* came to *Mante*, that he might be near the Place of Conference. From these two Towns it was that the two Courts repaired every Day to the Place appointed. The first Day the Queen of *France* brought along with her the Princess *Catharine* her Daughter, of whose Charms *Henry* became enamoured. The Effect of this first Sight being very visible, the Queen believed she should inflame the Desires of that Prince, by not letting her Daughter appear again. *Henry* soon perceived her Design. He found they had a Mind to make use of the Princess for

for a Decoy to ensnare him. But, to cut off the Queen's hopes, he told the Duke of *Burgundy*, that they might depend upon it, he would never quit his Arms, till he had the King and the Princess his Daughter in his Power, and had driven him out of the Kingdom in case he was against it. At any other Juncture, the Duke, who was no less fiery than the King, would doubtless have returned him a smart Answer. But not to exasperate too much a Prince, of whom he might soon stand in need, he was content with saying, that he did not question but he should give him Cause to be weary of the War.

The Conference of *Meulant* ran upon three Articles, which *Henry* insisted upon as *Preliminaries* to the Peace and the Marriage.

I. That he should be put in Possession of whatever had been given up to *Edward III* by the *Treaty of Bretigny*.

*Henry's
Demands
Act. Pub.
IX. 762.*

II. That moreover all *Normandy* should be yielded to him.

III. That he should hold in *full Sovereignty*, and without any Dependence, whatever should be given up by the ensuing Treaty.

As *Henry* would not recede from these Articles, the Duke of *Burgundy* plainly saw, that if he directly opposed them, it would occasion the breaking up of the Conference, which it was his Interest to continue as the only way left to bring the *Dauphin* to a Reconciliation. And therefore without disputing, or granting the King's Pretensions, he contented himself with delivering to the King the Counter-Demands of *France*. They were drawn up so as to be liable to great Objections, which he might either improve or drop, according as he saw what Resolution the *Dauphin* would come to. In a Word, the Duke of *Burgundy's* Aim was to give the *Dauphin* a little more Time before he concluded any Thing with the King of *England*. These were the Demands of *France*, with the King's Answers annexed.

1419.
Demands
of France.
ibid.
p. 763.

I. That the King of *England* renounce the Crown of *France*.

The King consents to it, provided this Clause be added, [except what is yielded to him by the present Treaty.]

II. That he quit Claim to *Touaine, Anjou, Maine*, and the Sovereignty of *Bretagne*.

The King is not pleased with this Article.

The Reason was in all likelihood, because of the Sovereignty of *Bretagne*, which he claimed as Duke of *Normandy*.

III. The King of *England* shall swear, that neither he nor his Successors shall receive at any Time hereafter, upon any Account whatever, the Conveyance of the Crown of *France* from any Person who hath, or pretends to have a Right thereto.

The King agrees to this, provided his Adversary will swear likewise the same Thing; &c.

IV. The King of *England* shall cause the Renunciations, Promises and Engagements to be recorded in the manner the King of *France* and his Council shall think properest.

The King likes not this Article.

IV. As there are still in *Normandy* several Places not conquered by the King of *England*, which however are to be given up by the Treaty, he shall desist upon that consideration from all his other Conquests elsewhere.

Every one shall be restored to the Possession of his Estate in what Place soever it lies. There shall be an Alliance concluded between the two Kings.

The King approves of this, on Condition the Scots and the Rebels shall not be included in the Alliance.

VII. The King of *England* shall refund the six Hundred Thousand Crowns paid to *Richard II* in Part of the eight Hundred Thousand Crowns he was to have with his Queen *Isabella*. Moreover four Hundred Thousand Crowns for that Prince's Jewels detained in *England*.

The King is willing that this Article be allowed out of the Arrears due for King John's Ransom. However he is surprized at the Demand of four Hundred Thousand Crowns for

Queen

Queen Isabella's Jewels, when they were not worth a Quarter of that Sum. 1419.

It is easy to perceive by the Nature of these Demands, *The Duke of Burgundy's Designs.* that the Objections were not considerable enough to hinder the Conclusion of a Peace, if both the Parties had been alike willing. But on the other Hand they were sufficient to keep the Treaty depending, as long as the Court of France should please. In the State the Duke of Burgundy was in, he did not insist upon the Articles which the King was averse to, any further than was necessary for his Design. He was well pleased to let the King believe that the Peace was just going to be concluded, as indeed it would have been, had the Dauphin persisted in his Obstinacy. Henry so little questioned it, that on the 5th of July, that is, about a Month after the opening of the Congress, he gave full Power to the Archbishop of Canterbury to go to Paris and conclude the Peace in his Name with King Charles.

But whilst Henry was pleasing himself with this Prospect, Endeavours were using on the other Side to break all his Measures. As he had made use of Negotiations now with the Dauphin, then with the Duke of Burgundy, in order to stir up the Jealousy of both, and attain his Ends, he was himself over-reached in his own way. The Congress of Meulant wherein the Duke of Burgundy's chief Aim was to frighten the Dauphin, produced the Effect he expected. The young Prince alarmed at seeing upon the Point of Conclusion a Peace so disadvantageous to France and himself, did not think proper obstinately to refuse any longer to be reconciled with the Duke of Burgundy, since their Reconciliation was the only Means to prevent so great a Mischief. Wherefore after several private Conferences between some trusty Friends of the two Princes, a Reconciliation, so earnestly wished for by all honest Frenchmen, was at length brought about. On the 11th of July they met about three Miles from Meulant in the Road to Paris, and embraced one another. After that they signed a Treaty, *A. A. Pub. IX. 770* whereby they mutually promised to love one another like

1419. *Brothers, and jointly to withstand the damnable Enterprize of the English, the old Enemies of the Kingdom.*

The Duke of Burgundy breaks off the Conference of Meulant
p. 786.

This Step being made, the Duke of *Burgundy* took new Measures. As he no longer desired the Conclusion of the Peace, he strenuously insisted in the Conferences which were still kept on at *Meulant* upon the Demand of *France*. But for fear *Henry* should desist from the Objections he had made to them, he added some fresh Articles. In explaining the third Demand of *France*, he clogged it with so many Conditions, that in all possible Cases for the future, neither *Henry* nor his Successors Kings of *England* could ever have any Claim to or Share in that Kingdom. But *Henry*, who was very willing to quit his Pretensions to the Kingdom of *France*, as descended of *Edward III.*, thought it very unreasonable that he should be obliged to extend his Renunciation for himself and Successors, to all Cases that might happen for the time to come, and which it was not possible to foresee. He complained moreover that the Duke of *Burgundy* demanded some Things which he could not grant without sinning against God, and breaking his Oaths. I do not know what this was. At last, to render the Conclusion of the Peace impracticable, the Duke fell upon the King's Demands, against which he had taken Care to alledge nothing before his Agreement with the *Dauphin*. He affirmed that in general, they were extravagant, obscure, ambiguous, and unreasonable, without mentioning any Instances. And withal he expected that *Henry* should accept the Offers of *France*, absolutely and simply, without any manner of Explanation. For fear however of being taken at his Word, he refused to consent that the Articles already agreed upon, should be committed to Writing.

Hitherto *Henry* had imagined, upon what Ground I know not, that the Duke of *Burgundy's* Reconciliation with the *Dauphin*, would be no Obstacle to the Peace. We find in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, that on the 18th of *July*, that is, seven Days after their Interview, *Henry* impowered the Archbishop of *Canterbury* to conclude his Marriage with the Princess *Catherine*. One would think he knew nothing yet of what had passed the 11th between

tween the *Dauphin* and the Duke of *Burgundy*, if it did not appear by a Letter in the said *Collection*, that some of his Courtiers had received Intelligence of it on the 14th. He was so prejudiced on this Occasion, that on the 19th he gave Power to Commissioners to prolong the Truce. But the new Demands of the Duke of *Burgundy*, or rather his Cavils at the Treaty, broke off the Conferences, and each Side went and prepared for War.

July the 28th, *Henry* ordered a Detachment, headed by the Duke of *Clarence*, to storm *Pontoise*. This Enterprize was attended with the Success he expected, *L' Isle Adam* the Governor, not dreaming of being attacked, was surpris'd and forced to fly with Part of the Garrison. As the Court of *France* had resided in this Town during the Congress of *Meulant*, and had been gone but a few Days, the *English* Soldiers found the Place full of the Baggage of the Courtiers. The Booty is said to amount to above two Millions of Crowns.

1419.

p. 779.

p. 782.

Henry takes Pontoise.
Juven. des Ursins Hist. of Charles VI.

A great Booty.

The taking of *Pontoise* opened the King a Way to the very Gates of *Paris*. But however the Posture of Affairs was not changed for the better, since the Union of the two Factions which had divided *France*. Whilst they were worrying one another, an Army of Twenty-five Thousand Men had been sufficient for the Conquest of *Normandy*. No Enemy had appeared to disturb *Henry* in his Sieges. What is more, one of the Factions had all along countenanced him, either openly or underhand. But since their Reconciliation, he could hardly expect, with his own Forces alone, to compass his Ends. He aimed at no less than the Conquest of the whole Kingdom, or at least what *England* had lost since the *Treaty of Bretigny*. And yet after a six Years War, and in so favourable a Juncture, he was only Master of one single Province. He was also sensible, that in *England* every Body did not applaud his being bent upon continuing so hazardous a War, and that it was openly said, the Conquest of *France* would be the Ruin of *England*. But this was not the only Thing that gave him Uneasiness. He had just received a Letter from *Bayonne*, of the 22d of *July*, informing him, that a powerful Fleet

The Posture of Henry's Affairs.

Ast. Pub. IX. 783.

was

1419. was equipping in *Castile* for the Aid of the *Dauphin*.
 791, 794. Shortly after he received another from the *Mayor* of the same Town, acquainting him, that *Arragon* had declared for the *Dauphin*; that the *Castilians* and *Arragonians* had already entered *Bearn*, ravaged the Country about *Bayonne*, and seemed to have a Design to besiege the Town. The Letter added further, that the *Castilian* Fleet was ordered to sail for *Scotland*, to take on Board there a Body of Troops which were to be transported into *France*, to serve under the Command of the *Dauphin*. On the other Hand, he could not doubt but the *Flemmings*, who had refused to serve the Duke of *Burgundy* against *France*, would be ready to obey him, when the Business was to assist that Kingdom. In spite of all these Difficulties which had started up on a sudden, he persisted in his first Resolution. Nay he had the Assurance to offer King *Charles*, as a sort of Favour, that he would be contented with what he had demanded at *Meulant*, provided he should be left in Possession of *Pontoise*, which he had just taken. It is however undeniable, that he must needs have been at a very great Stand. When he took the War in Hand, he depended upon the Dissentions of the *French*. And to these Dissentions was he indebted for his going on so smoothly hitherto. Mean while he saw himself obliged to undertake with the help of an inconsiderable Army, the Conquest of a Kingdom, of which he possessed as yet but a small Part. But his good Fortune, or rather the *Dauphin's* Animosity against the Duke of *Burgundy*, happily brought him off.

The *Dauphin* causes
 the Duke of
Burgundy
 to be assassinated.

In the Interview between the *Dauphin* and Duke of *Burgundy*, they had agreed to meet again upon the Bridge of *Montereau Faut-Yonne*, on the 28th of *August*, in order to consult about the manner of carrying on the War against the *English*. The Duke was extremely loth to go to the Place appointed. One would think he had some foreboding of what was to happen to him. However, as too great a Distrust might have broke his Measures, and rendred all he had done of no Effect, he resolved to stand to his Engagement. Not to enter into the Particulars related by all the *French* Historians, I shall content my self with saying, that the *Dauphin*

phin caused the Duke to be assassinated upon the very Bridge they had pitched upon for their Conference. I say, the *Dauphin*, how much Pains soever some Historians have taken to clear him; the Deed was done before his Eyes, and at his Feet, and he kept for all that the Murderers in his Service, who were the chief Officers of his Household. There would be no need of further Proof of his Guilt, even tho' there were no Historians honest enough freely to own it.

1419.

This Accident changed on a sudden the Face of Affairs. *The Face*
In all likelihood the Duke of *Burgundy* at the Time of *of Affairs*
his Death was well affected to *France*. But *Philip* his *changed.*
Son and Successor, suffering himself to be hurried away with the Desire of revenging the Death of his Father, did not stick to ruin the Kingdom in order to gratify his Passion. The speediest and most effectual Means to attain his Ends, was to join in a League with the King of *England* and Queen *Isabella*, mortal Enemy of the *Dauphin* her Son. So, all the rest of the Year was spent in secret Negotiations, which ended at length in the giving up the Kingdom into the Hands of the *English*. Mean while, the new Duke of *Burgundy* held the same Place about King *Charles* as the Duke his Father had enjoy'd: That is to say, being Master of the King's Person, he was looked upon as *Regent*, by those who were not in Obedience to the *Dauphin*.

Act. Pub.
IX. 805,
806.

Since the taking of *Pontoise*, the Court of *France* was removed by reason of the continual Inroads of the *English* up to the very Gates of *Paris*. Mean while the *Parisians* saw themselves in manifest Danger. The Duke of *Burgundy's* Thoughts being wholly engrossed by Revenge, he took no care for the Defence of *Paris*. Whereupon, the Inhabitants justly alarmed at so dangerous a Neighbourhood, thought it their wisest Course to try to prevent their Ruin, by coming to an Agreement with *Henry*. There were several Negotiations which ended in a separate Truce for *Paris*, from the 20th of *November* to the 25th. This was but small Comfort to the *Parisians*: but as the Treaty between the King and Duke of *Burgundy* was upon the Point

The Parisi-
ans apply
to Henry.
Ibid.
747, 810.

They ob-
tain a
short
Truce.
p. 815.

of

1419. of Conclusion, they had no need of a longer Truce, since they were included in the Treaty. Besides, *Henry* did not intend to deprive himself of the Advantage which the Neighbourhood of *Pontoise* gave him upon the *Parisians*, in case the Treaty he was negotiating with the Duke of *Burgundy* should come to be violated by some unexpected Accident. Since the Death of the Duke of *Burgundy*, nothing but Envoys and Couriers were continually going backwards and forwards between the King and Duke. *Henry* was willing to make the same Alliance with him, as he had done with the deceased. But having been over-reached by the Father, he did not care to run the Hazard of being served in the same Manner by the Son: And therefore, before he joined in League with him against the *Dauphin*, he was resolved to be sure of a Peace with King *Charles*.

Henry
claims the
Crown of
France.

At the Congress of *Meulant*, *Henry* had limited his Pretensions to the Articles of the Treaty of *Bretigny*, and to *Normandy*. But although, after the breaking up of the Conferences, he seemed resolved to stand his Ground without relaxing in the least; yet 'tis to be supposed, if the Murder of the Duke of *Burgundy* had not unexpectedly happened, he would have fallen very considerably in his Demands. At the least the Posture of Affairs would have left him no room to expect, that he should ever be able to compel *France* to grant him so great Advantages. After the Death of that Duke, the Scene was changed in his Favour. Wherefore, finding he was earnestly applied to by Queen *Isabella*, and the new Duke of *Burgundy*, he did not question but it would be in his Power to impose upon *France* what Terms he pleased. He forgot therefore the Offers he had made at *Meulant*, and resumed his former Claim to the Crown of *France*, with the same Condition, that *Charles VI.* should be acknowledg'd King during his Life. These are the Articles which he proposed as a Foundation for a Peace.

Prelimi-
nary Arti-
cles of the
Peace.

Act. Pub.
IX. 816.

I. That he would espouse the Princess *Catharine*, without any Charge to her Relations, or the Kingdom.

II. That

1419.

II. That he would not disturb King *Charles* in the Enjoyment of the Crown, or Possession of the Revenues of the Kingdom, during the said King's Life. That Queen *Isabella* his Spouse should likewise enjoy, during her Life, the Rights annexed to her Dignity.

III. That after the Death of King *Charles*, the Crown of *France* should fall to the King of *England* and his Heirs for ever.

IV. That by reason of King *Charles*'s Infirmary, which prevented him from attending to the Government of the State, the King of *England* should take upon him the Administration of Affairs, as Regent, during the Life of the King his Father-in-law.

V. That the Princes, Nobles, Corporations, Burghers, &c. should take an Oath to the King of *England* as Regent, and bind themselves by the same Oath to own him for Sovereign after the Death of King *Charles*.

VI. That for Security of the Performance of these Articles, the King of *France* should give the King of *England* his *Letters Patents* under his *Great Seal*; That he should cause the like *Letters* of Approbation to be given him by the Queen his Spouse, by the Duke of *Burgundy*, by the Peers, &c. in clear and plain Terms, as should be agreed upon by the Parties.

VII. That the King of *England* would give and cause to be given the like.

Henry's Pretensions being thus settled in these few fundamental Articles, the Duke of *Burgundy* signed *Letters Patents*, whereby he approved of these Articles as good, beneficial, reasonable, and tending to the Welfare of *France* and all *Christendom*. This done, a general Truce was published from the 24th of *December* to the 1st of *March* next. As soon as the Business of the Peace was over, the Plenipotentiaries of the King and Duke of *Burgundy* signed a private Treaty of Alliance, containing these six Articles: Approved by the Duke of Burgundy. Sept. 25.

1419.

Treaty between Henry and the Duke of Burgundy.
Act. Pub.
IX. 825,
840.

I. That one of the King's Brothers should marry one of the Duke of *Burgundy's* Daughters.

II. That the King and Duke should love and assist one another like Brothers.

III. That they should jointly endeavour to bring to Punishment the *Dauphin*, and the rest of the Murderers of the late Duke of *Burgundy*.

IV. That if the *Dauphin* or any other of the said Murderers should be taken Prisoners, they should not be released without the Consent of the Duke of *Burgundy*.

V. That the King of *England* should cause to be assigned to the Duke and his Dutcheſs, Daughter of King *Charles*, Lands of the yearly Value of Twenty Thousand *Livres*, lying as nigh as possible to his *Demefns* in *France*; and that they should do Homage for them to the Crown. That they should have *Letters* under the *Great Seal* to that Purpose, which the King of *England* should confirm upon his entering upon the Regency.

VI. That if any Person hereafter, under colour of his marrying a Daughter of *France*, should claim the like Assignment of Lands, the Duke should assist the King to the utmost of his Power to prevent it.

1420.

This Treaty was ratified by the two Princes in the Beginning of *January*, 1420.

Act. Pub.
IX. 854.

Although the Peace was not yet signed, it was looked upon however as a done Thing, since the Terms were agreed on. *Henry* was so sure of it, that *January* the 24th, that is, four Months before the signing of the Treaty, he promised by his *Letters Patents* to the *Parisians*, to maintain them in their Privileges when he should come to be King of *France*.

The Truce prolonged in order to draw up the Treaty.

Mean while, as it was necessary to draw up the Articles agreed upon in the most exact Form, and to avoid all obscure and equivocal Expressions, some Time was spent in doing it. This occasioned the frequent prolonging of the Truce. All that while *Henry* had Ambassadors at *Troye*, to draw up the Treaty of Peace jointly with the Duke of *Burgundy*.

Burgundy. For the greater Precaution, it was first reduced to the Form of Preliminary Articles, to the end every one might examin what was to be added, retrenched or explained. This done, *Charles* confirmed all the Articles by his *Letters Patents*, dated *April* the 9th. It is remarkable, that by the XXI. *Henry* was to swear, that upon no Occasion whatever, during the Life of *King Charles*, he should take upon him the Title of *King of France*. And yet we find in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, an Order of his dated *April* 18. for coining a new Sort of Money in *Normandy*, with an *H* on one Side, and these Words round it: *Sit Nomen Domini Benedictum*; and on the other, *Henricus Francorum Rex* (a). 1420.
Articles
preliminary
approved by
King
Charles.
p. 877.

Henry
takes the
Title of
King of
France on
a new Coin
p. 888.

After the Preliminaries were approved of, an Interview between the two Kings was agreed on for the swearing and signing the Treaty. This Interview was to be somewhere near *Troye*: but afterwards *Henry* agreed it should be in *Troye* itself. As *King Charles* was not fit to appear in publick, the Queen and Duke of *Burgundy* were empowered to swear the Peace in his Name. *Henry* being come to *Troye*, *May* the 20th, found there the King of *France*, his Queen, and the Princess *Catharine*, to whom he made a Present of a Ring of great Value. Next Day the Treaty was signed and sworn with the usual Formalities; and the same Day *Henry* betrothed the Princess, but the Marriage was not consummated till the 2d of *June*. The Substance of this famous Treaty was as follows: p. 894.

Henry
comes to
Troye,
signs the
Treaty,
and be-
troths Ca-
tharine.
p. 907.

T R E A T Y of T R O Y E.

I. **T**HE King of *England* being become Son of the King of *France*, by his Marriage with the Princess *Catharine*, shall honour the King and Queen of *France* as his Father and Mother, &c. Treaty of
Troye.
p. 896.

(a) There are some Pieces still in being in the Hands of the Curious.

1420.

II. He shall not hinder the King of *France* during his natural Life, from preserving the Royal Dignity, and receiving the Revenues of the Crown. In like manner, as long as Queen *Isabella* shall live, she shall enjoy the Royal Dignity, and the Rents, Revenues, Honours and Prerogatives belonging to the Queens of *France*.

III. Queen *Catharine* shall have for her Dowry in *England*, Forty Thousand Crowns a Year, as the Queens of *England* used to have.

IV. This Dowry shall be so settled upon her, that she may enter upon it the Day of the King her Husband's Death.

V. If she out-lives the King her Husband, there shall be made over to her in *France* an yearly Revenue of Twenty Thousand *Livres*, issuing out of the Lands belonging formerly to Queen *Blanch*, Wife of *Philip*.

VI. After the Death of King *Charles*, the Crown of *France*, with all its Appurtenances, shall descend to the King of *England* and his Heirs.

VII. As the King of *France* is frequently hindered by his Infirmary from attending to the Government of the State, the King of *England* shall from this Day be Regent of the Kingdom, and govern it according to Justice and Equity, with the Advice of the Princes, Peers, Barons, and Nobles of the said Kingdom.

VIII. The Parliament of *Paris* shall be maintained in the Jurisdiction they enjoyed over the Places subject to the King.

IX. The King of *England* shall preserve the Privileges, Rights, Liberties, Immunities and Customs of the Peers, Nobles, Corporations, and of all the King's Subjects in general.

X. Justice shall be administered according to the Laws, Customs and Usages of the Realm.

XI. All the Posts as well civil as military shall be filled with Persons duly qualified, according to the Laws of the Realm.

XII. The King of *England* shall endeavour to the utmost of his Power, to reduce to the Obedience of the King all the Provinces, Cities, Towns, which have withdrawn their

their Allegiance, and joined the Party commonly called, the *Dauphin's* or *Armagnac's*. 1420.

XIII. All the Princes, Peers, Barons, Nobles, States, as well Spiritual as Temporal, Cities, Corporations, Burghers, &c. shall swear, 1. Punctually to observe what shall be enjoined by the two Kings and the present Queen. 2. To obey the King of *England* as Regent. 3. To recognize him after the Death of King *Charles* for their lawful Sovereign, and to obey none but him. 4. Not to aid or abett any Plot against his Person, and to inform him of all such Plots as shall come to their Knowledge.

XIV. All the Conquests which shall be made hereafter, in the Kingdom of *France*, *Normandy* excepted, shall be to the use of the present King. *Item*, all the Lands and Lordships, which shall be conquered, shall be restored to their Right Owners, being in Obedience to the King, and having sworn to keep the present Treaty.

XV. All the *Ecclesiasticks* of *Normandy*, subject to the King of *England*, and paying Obedience to King *Charles*, or that are of the *Burgundian* Party, upon swearing the present Treaty, shall enjoy their *Benefices* as well in *Normandy* as elsewhere.

XVI. All the *Norman Ecclesiasticks* holding *Benefices* in *France*, shall be continued in them upon the same Terms.

XVII. The Universities and Colleges, as well in *Normandy* as in *France*, shall be preserved in their Rights and Privileges, on the Conditions above specified, saving to the Crown of *France* its Prerogatives.

XVIII. Upon the King of *England's* coming to the Crown of *France*, *Normandy* and all his other Conquests shall be re-united to the Crown.

XIX. If the King of *England* has already disposed in *Normandy* of any Lands, Revenues, or Possessions belonging to any of the *Burgundian* Party, they shall have an equivalent in *France*, out of the Lands of the Rebels. And if they receive not this Equivalent before the said King is in Possession of the Crown of *France*, he promises to give it the moment he ascends the Throne. But what he has

1420. has not disposed of, shall be restored to the Owners, as is said in Article XIV.

XX. All publick *Acts* shall run in King *Charles's* Name. However as some unforeseen Cases might happen, wherein the King of *England* should be obliged to dispatch Orders, then he shall be allowed to join his Name as Regent to the present King's.

XXI. The King of *England* shall forbear, on all Occasions during the Life of King *Charles*, to assume the Title of *King of France*.

XXII. In publick *Acts*, the King of *France*, speaking of the King of *England*, shall use this Form, *Our dearly beloved Son, Henry King of England, Heir of France*.

XXIII. The King of *England* shall lay no Taxes on the *French* without just Cause, and for the good of the Publick, according to the Laws and Customs of the Kingdom.

XXIV. When he himself or his Heir shall come to the Crown of *France*, the two Kingdoms of *France* and *England* shall be united for ever, under the Dominion of one and the same Prince. There shall not be a King in each Kingdom; but one and the same King shall be Sovereign of both the Realms, without however subjecting the one to the other; but the Laws and Liberties of each of the two Kingdoms shall be preserved entire.

XXV. Henceforward Friendship and a good Understanding shall be established between *France* and *England*, and the two Kingdoms shall assist one another with all their Power.

XXVI. All the Allies of the two Crowns shall have eight Months to get themselves included in the present Peace, if they desire it; saving to the two Crowns, and their Subjects, the proper Remedies any ways belonging to them against the said Allies (a).

XXVII. The Officers and Domesticks of the present King shall be *French*, or Natives of Places where the *French* Tongue

(a) Henry probably inserted this obscure Reservation, with regard to *Scotland*.

Tongue is spoken (b), and shall be able and reputable Persons. The King his Son and the Duke of *Burgundy* shall take care, surely, laudably, and honestly, that the said King have all things answerable to his State and Dignity.

1420.

XXVIII. He shall keep his Residence in some considerable Place within his own Dominions, and no where else.

XXIX. Upon Consideration of the Crimes committed by *Charles*, who stiles himself *Dauphin of Viennois*, it is agreed, that no Peace shall be made with him without the unanimous Consent of the two Kings, and the Duke of *Burgundy*.

XXX. For the Security of the Performance of the fore-said Articles, *Letters* under the *Great Seal* shall be given to the King of *England* by the King of *France*. *Item*, The Queen, the Duke of *Burgundy*, the Princess of the Blood, Peers, Nobles, Towns, Cities, Corporations, subject to the King, and all in general of whom the King of *England* shall require it, shall give the like *Letters* of Approbation.

XXXI. The King of *England* shall likewise do the same for himself, for the Princes his Brothers, the rest of the Princes of the Blood, and others whom the King of *France* shall desire it for.

Given at Troye, May the 21st, in the Year of our Lord 1420, and of King Charles the 40th.

The Marriage being consummated *June* the 2d, the two Courts sat out together next Morning for *Sens*, which was already invested. This Place having held out but ten or twelve Days, the Army marched to *Montereau*, where the Duke of *Burgundy* had been murdered, and took the Town in a short Time. The Duke of *Burgundy* found there the Body of the Duke his Father, buried in his Doublet after an indecent Manner, and ordered it to be removed to *Dijon*.

Sens taken.
Act. Pub.
IX. 910.
and Mon-
tereau.

About the Middle of *July* the Army went and laid Siege to *Melun*, which was defended by the Lord *Barbazan* the Governour

*Melun be-
sieged.*
Act. Pub.
X. 4.

(b) This was not to exclude the Inhabitants of the Provinces belonging to the King of *England*, as *Normans*, &c.

1420. Governour four Months. The King of *England* kept with his Army on the Side of *Gatinois*, and the Duke of *Burgundy* commanded on the Side of *La Brie*. This Siege became famous by the brave Defense of the Besieged, who repulled several Assaults, and whom Famine compelled at length to capitulate about the Middle of *November*. A French Historian says, the Capitulation was not kept, by which the Garrison were to have their Lives without Ransom, except such as had a Hand in the Murder of the Duke of *Burgundy*, but that instead of being left at Liberty, they were thrown into Prison at *Paris*, and starved to Death. To be able to judge of the Truth of this Fact, one should see the Articles of Surrender, and be certain whether they that were carried to *Paris*, were not of the Number of those that were expressly excepted. It is so much the more likely that they were really so, because the same Author says, that the King and Duke of *Burgundy* had demanded four and twenty Hostages by Name, and that these Hostages were conducted to *Paris*, with as many more as could be seized. This seems to hint that the Garrison had been suffered to march off, and that none but some private Persons were seized, who might be suspected, as well as the Hostages, of being concerned in the Death of the Duke of *Burgundy*. But however, as *Henry* is not to be excused in case he broke his Word on this Occasion, so likewise I think we are not to be too hasty in giving Credit to a single Historian, who appears in other Respects exceeding partial against *Henry*, and even refrains not from abusive Language. After the Surrender of *Melun*, the two Courts set out for *Paris*, where the two Kings made their Entry together, on the first Sunday in *Advent*, and the Queens the next Day.

The two Courts make their Entry into Paris.

The States of France confirm the Peace of Troye. Aët. Pub. X. 30.

In the Beginning of *December*, the *States-General* met at *Paris*. King *Charles* going to the Assembly on the 6th, told them, that of his own free Will he had made a Peace with the King of *England*; that he was perswaded it would be beneficial to *France*, and desired them to confirm it by their Authority. The King's Declaration in the Condition he was in, was not a sufficient Reason to induce the

States

States to ratify a Peace, which according to their Notions, violated the most sacred Rights of the Kingdom, in order to set the Crown on the Head of a foreign Prince. But in the State they themselves were in, it was hardly in their Power to examine the Consequences, or freely to speak their Minds. Wherefore it was unanimously resolved, that the Peace of *Troye* should be kept, and enacted as a Publick Law, and that all the *French* should be obliged to take the Oaths specified in the Treaty. This is not a proper Place to examine *Henry's* Pretensions to the Crown of *France*. They were the same that *Edward III* had formerly asserted, and of which I have amply spoken in the History of his Reign. But however, it may be said, that at the very Time the *French* swore the Peace, they thought it very unjust, and consequently there could be but little Reliance on Oaths which they considered as involuntary. And therefore they plainly showed afterwards that they made no great Account of them. And yet *Henry*, as great a Politician as he was, depended upon these extorted Promises, as if the *French* then should have been more scrupulous than those who had sworn the *Peace of Bretigny*.

On the 23d of the same Month, King *Charles's* Council being summoned on Purpose, the Duke of *Burgundy* appeared in a Mourning Habit, and demanded Justice against the Murderers of the Duke his Father. *Mezerai* says, that the *Dauphin* was solemnly called to the *Marble-Table*, and not appearing, he was attainted and convicted of causing the Duke of *Burgundy* to be killed, pronounced unworthy of all Inheritance, particularly of the Succession to the Crown, and banished the Realm for ever. It is hard to believe that such an Historian as he, should advance such a Fact without good Authority. And yet this Sentence, which is extant in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, says not a Word either of the Succession to the Crown, or the Banishment of the *Dauphin*. The Sentence is General against all the Murderers of the Duke of *Burgundy*, without expressly naming the *Dauphin* or his Accomplices, at least in the enacting Part. It is true, that before the *Acts* there is mention of the Treaty between the *Dauphin* and Duke of

Sentence upon the Murderers of the Duke of Burgundy. ibid.

P. 33.

1420.

Burgundy; and that afterwards it is said, the Duke of *Burgundy* was killed *by him*; which Words, *by him*, manifestly relate to the *Dauphin*, mentioned several Lines above. It appears however, that the *Sentence* was worded in such a manner that the *Dauphin* was included only in general among the Murderers of the Duke of *Burgundy*, and that it does not seem to point particularly at him. Consequently it was not natural to speak of the Succession to the Crown. So that in all Appearance, *Mezerai* had a greater Regard to the Intent of the Decree, than to the Words themselves.

The *Dauphin* appeals to God and his Sword.

The *Dauphin* finding that all sorts of Means were used to deprive him of the Crown, appealed to God and his Sword, from whatever had been hitherto, or should be for the future, transacted against him in the Name of the King his Father, and continued still to assume the Title of *Regent*. As such he removed the *Parliament* and *University* of *Paris* to *Poitiers*, where some of the Members of these two Bodies repaired. Thus were seen at the same Time in *France*, two Kings, two Queens, two Regents, all the Officers of the Crown double, seven or eight Marshals of *France* on each Side, two Parliaments, and two Universities of *Paris*.

1421.
France divided between two Factions.

Though *Henry* was declared *Regent*, and *Heir* of *France*, yet was it only by the *Burgundian* Party, who having the King in their Power, thought they had a Right to dispose of the Affairs of the Kingdom. The *Dauphin* had still a strong Party left, who, far from complying with what had been settled by the *Peace of Troye*, maintained, that supposing the King had been under no Restraint, and in perfect Health, he would have had no Right to dispose of the Crown as he had done, much less, being distempered and a Captive. The Provinces at a Distance from *Paris*, not being awed by the *English* Arms, adhered for the most part to the *Dauphin*. Even the Country about the Metropolis was all divided. In one and the same Province, there were some Places for the *English*, and others for the lawful Heir of the King. In spite therefore of the Peace, the War was not yet over, since the two Kings were under a Necessity of driving the *Dauphin* out of all the Towns and

and Provinces he was possessed of. This was no easy Task, though the joining of the *English* Forces to the *Burgundian* Party, made them vastly superior.

1421.

Guienne, Part of which *Henry* was in Possession of, was moreover of great Advantage to him, as it served to keep in awe the Provinces beyond the *Loire*. Till the Death of *Armagnac* the Constable, this Province had rather been a Charge than a Benefit to the *English*. There had been constant Occasion for a standing Army, to defend it against the continual Attempts of the Party which had declared for *France*, about the End of the Reign of *Edward III.* The Houses of *Armagnac* and *Albret*, who were at the Head of this Party, had created the Kings of *England* a great deal of Trouble, particularly after the Earl of *Armagnac* came to have the Management of the Publick Affairs. But after the Death of that Earl, the Heads of the Party thought fit, as I before observed, to make a Truce with *Henry*, to the end the Duke of *Burgundy* might not be favoured by their Diverſion. After the Conclusion of the *Peace of Troye*, they sued for Peace, because they believed they should be able to hold out no longer. *Henry* hoping to reap great Benefit by the quiet Possession of *Guienne*, readily received them into Favour, and ordered *Letters of Pardon* to be given them, upon their renouncing, by a Publick Instrument, the Appeal of their Ancestors to the Court of the *Peers of France*, in the Time of *Edward III.* Some say that by the *Peace of Troye*, *Guienne* was to be united to the Crown of *France* after the Death of *Charles VI.* But besides that in the Treaty of *Troye* there is no mention of *Guienne*, it plainly appears by what has been just related, that *Henry* had no such Intention. On the contrary it is evident, that he stuck to the Treaty of *Bretigny*, in order to preserve as King of *England*, the Sovereignty of *Guienne*, independent of the Crown of *France*.

pardon granted to the Galcon Rebels.

Act. Pub. X. 41.

Choisy Hist. of Charles VI.

Henry having settled his Affairs in *France*, in a manner so glorious for himself and his Nation, resolved to return into *England*, where three Things required his Presence. First, He had a mind to have his Queen crowned. Secondly, It was necessary he should call a Parliament, as well to

Henry returns to England.

1421.

A. & Pub.
X. 49.

*The Queen
crowned.
p. 63.
A Parlia-
ment called
The King
goes to
York.*

*A Procla-
mation a-
gainst the
Pope's Col-
lation.*

*The Duke
of Cla-
rence is
slain.*

get the *Peace of Troye* confirmed, as to demand an Aid of Money which should enable him vigorously to carry on the War against the *Dauphin*. Lastly, There was Occasion to take some Measures against the *Scots*, who had sent Supplies to his Enemy, under the Command of the Earl of *Buchan* the Regent's Son. Upon leaving *France*, *Henry* gave the Command of his Troops to the Duke of *Clarence* his Brother. Then he set Sail, taking the Queen along with him, and safely arrived in *England* about the End of *February*. A few Days after, the Queen was crowned, and a Parliament called, which was to meet at *Leicester* the 2d Day of *May*.

Whilst People were busy in chusing their *Representatives*, the King took a Progress into several *Counties*, and stayed some Weeks at *York*. His Aim was, under Colour of showing the Queen the Country, to procure by his Presence such *Members* to be elected as should be favourable to him. He was very sensible that the Nation was disgusted at being obliged to defray the Expences of the Conquest of *France*. Some say, it was during this Progress that the King issued out a *Proclamation*, prohibiting the admitting into *Benefices* any *Ecclesiasticks* upon the Pope's *Provisions*, contrary to the Rights of the Patrons. But it is more likely, this *Proclamation* was not issued out till after the Parliament of *Leicester*, pursuant to an *Act* made for that Purpose. However, this was a mortal Blow to the Court of *Rome*, to whom the Clause *Non-obstante*, so frequently made use of by the Popes, became unserviceable, at least, with regard to the Collation of the *Benefices*.

Before the meeting of the Parliament, *Henry* received the fatal News, that the Duke of *Clarence* his Brother was slain *April* the 3d, in a Battle fought in *Anjou*. The Duke had led ten Thousand Men into that Province, with Design to reduce it to the Obedience of the King. Whilst he was taken up in this Expedition, he was informed that the Earl of *Buchan*, with seven Thousand *Scots*, had entered the Province, and was encamped at *Baugé*. At the same Time, he had false Intelligence that the Vanguard of the *Scotch* Army was at so great a Distance from the main Body, that it would

would be an easy matter to put them to Rout, provided they were speedily attacked. Upon this Information, he suddenly put himself at the Head of his *Cavalry*, leaving the Earl of *Salisbury* Orders to follow him with the rest of the Army. When he came to *Baugé*, he found indeed some *Scotch* Troops intrenched in the Church-yard. He charged them immediately, and dismounted in order to head his Troops. But he lost so much time in forcing the *Scotch* Intrenchments, that the Earl of *Buchan* had leisure enough to come to their Relief. Then the Duke having mounted his Horse again, furiously attacked the new Comers in spite of the Inequality of his Forces. He gave, on this Occasion, Proofs of an uncommon Valour; but at length, over-powered by Numbers, and unable to bear the Thoughts of flying, he was wounded in the Face by a *Scotch* Knight, and killed by the Earl of *Buchan* himself. His Death brought on the entire Defeat of the *English Cavalry*, whereof Fifteen Hundred were slain, and many taken Prisoners. Among the Slain were the Earl of *Kent*, the Lords *Grey* and *Ross*, and several other Officers of Distinction. The Earl of *Salisbury* not being able to come soon enough to assist the Duke of *Clarence*, had however the Comfort to take from the Enemy the Body of that Prince, which he sent to the King his Brother.

The Advantage gained by the *Scots* made the King's Presence necessary in *France*. But he had still in *England* some Affairs which were no less urgent. The Parliament being met the 2d of *May*, readily confirmed the *Peace of Troye*, so glorious to *England*. A *Subsidy* was also granted for carrying on the War against the *Dauphin*: but at the same time was presented to him a *Petition*, where they told him, that it was but too true that the *Conquest of France proved the Ruin of England*. To obtain this *Subsidy*, the King had laid before the Parliament a State of the *Revenues and Charges* of the Crown. By which account, a Fragment whereof is inserted in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, it appears that the King's Revenue amounted but to 55743 *l. Sterling*; and that the ordinary Expences ran away with 52235 *l.* so that there remained but 3508 *l.* to provide

The Parliament confirms the Peace of Troye, and grants a Subsidy.
Act. Pub. X. 110.
They presented a Petition to the King.
State of the publick Revenues and Expences.
p. 133.

1421. provide for a Dozen extraordinary Articles mentioned in the Account. The Parliament's *Petition* could not but be very displeasing to the King. One half of *France* was still unconquered, and the Provinces subject to the King were so drained, that there was no Prospect of being able to get from thence the Supplies necessary for continuing the War. Wherefore, the Burden was still to fall upon *England*. But the Parliament grew weary of furnishing Money, at a Time when there was more need of it than ever, by reason of the Diversion the Kingdom was threatned with from the *Scots*.

*Affairs of
Scotland
with regard
to England,
since the
Beginning
of this
Reign.*

I have deferred till now speaking of the Affairs of *Scotland*, because since the Accession of *Henry V.* to the Crown of *England*, nothing had passed in *Scotland* which made it worth the while to break the Thread of the History. But at present it will be necessary to say a word or two about them, for the better understanding of what is to be related in the Sequel. We have seen in the late Reign, that in 1406, *James Stuart*, then Prince of *Scotland*, was detained in *England*, and that shortly after he became King of *Scotland* by the Death of his Father. This new Dignity was so far from turning to his Advantage, that it served only to cause him to be the more strictly guarded. The Duke of *Albany* his Uncle, who had taken upon him the Regency, tasted the Sweets of it too much, to be oversolicitous in procuring him his Liberty. Not a Year passed but he sent Ambassadors to *England*, under colour of soliciting the Freedom of the King his Nephew; but his real Intention was very far from what he seemed to desire. The chief Motive of these frequent Embassies was to negotiate the Exchange of the Earl of *Fife* his Son for young *Percy*, Son of the Earl of *Northumberland*. The Earl had been Prisoner in *England* ever since the Battle of *Halicdon*: *Percy* was seized in *Scotland* by way of Reprisal for the King. This Exchange was effected, and yet the Embassies were no less frequent. It was ever on Pretence of treating about the Freedom of the young King, but in reality to influence the King of *England* to detain him in Prison. *Buchanan* affirms, *Henry* was to do it upon Condition

dition the Regency would engage not to disturb him by Diversions in favour of *France*: Otherwise the *Scots* would never have sat still and seen *France* attacked by the *English*. Mean while, as it was necessary, in order to induce the *Scots* to sit down in Quiet contrary to their Interest, to give them some seeming Satisfaction, the Regent demanded publickly and earnestly the Liberty of the King his Nephew. But *Henry* very well knew he should not oblige him in granting his Demand: On the contrary, the Difficulties he started in this Affair were a sure Means to prevent Diversions from the *Scots*.

In 1415, whilst *Henry* was preparing to pass over into *France*, he received Advice from the Frontiers of the *North*, that the *Scots* were resolved to besiege *Berwick* with Sixty Thousand Men, whereupon the Duke of *Bedford* had Orders to levy an Army. But it does not appear, either that the *Scots* did then besiege *Berwick*, or that the Duke of *Bedford* marched against them. The *English* Historians relate, that the King, upon the Advice I just mentioned, called a Council, in order to debate whether it would be proper to lay aside the intended Expedition against *France*, and heartily apply to the Conquest of *Scotland*; and that it was resolved the first Project should be pursued*. This may be true; but it is very probable the King was then agreed with the Duke of *Albany*, and that the Rumour of the Invasion, and calling of the Council in *England*, was only to make the People of *Scotland* believe that the Regent acted with Sincerity. And indeed, we do not find in the History of *Scotland* any Signs of so considerable an Armament in the Year 1415, or of a Resolution to besiege *Berwick*: Besides, that very Year a Truce was made between the two Kingdoms, whilst all *Henry's* Forces were employed in *France*. In short, *Buchanan* affirms, it cannot be said that

* *Ralph Neville* Earl of *Westmorland*, and Lord President of the *North*, made a long Harangue to persuade the King to disable the *Scots* before he carried the War into *France*. But *John* Duke of *Exeter*, the King's Uncle, replied to the Earl, and was backed by the Dukes of *Clarence*, *Bedford*, and *Glocester*; upon which the War with *France* was resolved. *Duc. in vit. Chick. p. 14, &c.*

1421. that during the whole Reign of *Henry V.* there was any War between *England* and *Scotland*, all the Hostilities committed in that Time being nothing else but mere Robberies. He alledges as a Reason, that the Duke of *Albany* took care how he disobliged the King of *England*, for fear he should set the King of *Scotland* at Liberty. *Henry* was however afraid that it would not always be in the Regent's Power to keep the *Scots* quiet, whose Interest it was to prevent the Ruin of *France*. It was doubtless from this Consideration, that in 1416, he gave King *James* leave to go and pass some Time in his own Kingdom, upon giving Security for his Return. He was in hopes this Journey would create between the Uncle and Nephew such Diffusions, as would divert the *Scots* from all Thoughts of assisting *France*.

Act. Pub.
IX. 417.

The Affairs of *Scotland* continued in this Posture till 1419, when the *Dauphin* sent thither the Duke of *Vendôme* to crave Aid. The *States* being met upon this Account, the Regent could not hinder the decreeing a Levy of Seven Thousand Men, which were sent into *France* under the Command of the Earl of *Buchan*. The Victory that General gained over the Duke of *Clarence* at *Baugé*, procured him the Sword of *Constable of France*.

Henry could not without Concern see the *Scots* declare so openly for the *Dauphin*. He perceived, either that the Duke of *Albany* had not the Credit he had formerly, or that he had altered his Measures. Wherefore, in order to countermine the *Dauphin's* Friends in *Scotland*, he believed it necessary to gain the King of *Scotland* to his Interest, and make him his Instrument. This was partly his Design in returning to *England*. Upon his Arrival, he let that Prince know that it was his own Fault if he was not at Liberty, on Condition he would use his Authority in recalling his Subjects, which were in the Service of *France*, and make a League with him against the *Dauphin*. *James* passionately longing to be free, after a fifteen Years Imprisonment, verily readily complied with what ever *Henry* desired of him. A private Agreement therefore was made between these two Princes, the Articles whereof are un-

Act. Pub.
X. 125.

known,

known, except one, which was that *James* should go to *France* along with *Henry*, and stay with him till the War was over. *Henry's* Aim was to make use of the King of *Scotland's* Authority, in order to oblige the seven Thousand *Scots* in the *Dauphin's* Service to return Home. And indeed, *James* attended him to *France* with that Design. But when he commanded the Earl of *Buchan* to return to *Scotland*, the Earl replied, he did not think himself bound to obey him, as long as he was in the Power of another. For this Reason *Henry* from thenceforward treated as Rebels all the *Scots* that fell into his Hands.

—*Henry* having finished the Affairs which called him into *England*, took his leave of the Queen then great with Child, and appointing the Duke of *Bedford* his Brother Regent in his Absence, went back to *France*, where his Presence was necessary. He set sail the 10th of *June* with a new-raised Army, amounting, as some say, to four Thousand Men at Arms, and Twenty-four Thousand Archers. Upon his landing at *Calais*, he sent out several Detachments to take some Castles, the *Dauphin* had still in *Picardy*. At the same Time he ordered a considerable Body to march to the Relief of the Duke of *Exeter*, who was as it were blocked up in *Paris*. Then marching himself with the rest of the Army, he came to *Bois de Vincennes*, from whence he went and joined his Father-in-law at *Paris*.

A few Days after he had notice that the *Dauphin* was before *Chartres*, and had begun to batter the Town. As he wished for nothing more than to decide the Quarrel by a Battle, he immediately drew his Troops together, and marched directly to *Chartres*. But his Forces were so much superior, that the *Dauphin* did not think fit to stay his coming. *Henry* pursued him with all the speed possible; but finding he could not overtake him, fell upon *Dreux*, and took the Town upon Terms. It is said that during this Siege a certain *Hermit* came and boldly reproached him with the Calamities he brought upon *France* by his Ambition, and threatened him with the Judgments of God. Some add, that *Henry's* Death, which happened the next

1421.

The King
returns to
Paris.
ibid.
127, 129.

The Dau-
phin be-
siegues *Char-*
tres, but
retires upon
Henry's
Coming.
Henry
takes
Dreux.

1421. Year, was a plain Proof that the *Hermit* was inspired. But such Consequences are not always just.

He returns to Paris. After the Siege of *Dreux*, the *Flux* being got into his Army, *Henry* sent his Troops into Summer-Quarters, and went and refreshed himself at *Paris*. He drew them together again in *October*, in order to go and lay Siege to *Meaux*, though the Season was scarce fit for such an Undertaking.

He besieges Meaux.

Mezerai and some others were mistaken in saying, that this Siege was laid before the King went to *England*. It is certain, it was not begun till four Months after his Return

Monstrelet.

Act. Pub. X. 212.

Birth of Prince Henry

(a). The same Historian says further, that this Place held out three Months, but he should have said seven, since the Siege began the 6th of *October* 1421, and ended not till the 2d of *May* 1422. It is true, as the Town was divided into two Parts, namely, the *Town* and the *Market-Place* *, the first was taken by Storm during the Winter; but the *Market-Place* held out till *May*.

Countess of Hainault stands Godmother.

1422.

Whilst the King was employ'd in the Siege of *Meaux*, he received the agreeable News of his Queen's being safely brought to Bed at *Windsor* of a Prince, who was named *Henry*. The Duke of *Bedford* and the Bishop of *Winchester* stood Godfathers, and *Jaqueline* Countess of *Hainault* Godmother. This Princess, who had united under her Dominion *Hainault*, *Holland*, *Zealand*, and *Friesland*, had been married first to *John* Duke of *Tourain* second Son of the King of *France*. This Prince dying in 1416, she espoused *John* Duke of *Brabant*, Cousin-German to the Duke of *Burgundy*. She soon grew weary of her second Husband, and under Colour of their being too near akin, formed a Design to get the Marriage annulled. To that Purpose, she procured some *Knights* to carry her off to *England*, that she might act the more freely. Her being thus carried off was no Secret to the King, since we find in the *Collection of the Publick Acts* a Safe Conduct for this Princess. Besides upon her Arrival in *England* the King assigned her a Pension of a hundred Pounds *Sterling* a Month. His Intent was to marry her to the Duke of *Gloucester*,

Act. Pub. X. 67. p. 134.

Her Adventures.

(a) *Juxenal des Ursins* in his History of *Charles VI* led *Mezerai* into this Error.

* Where the Castle stood, it is called the *March by Speed*.

Gloucester, and by that Means to put his Brother in Possession of four of the best Provinces of the *Low Countries*. The Duke of *Burgundy* was extremely offended at the little Regard the King showed for the Duke of *Brabant* his Cousin, in affording *Jaquelina* Refuge in his Dominions. This Affront in his Opinion reflected upon himself. Besides it was his Interest that *Jaquelina's* Marriage with the Duke of *Brabant* should not be annulled. Mean while *Henry* preferring the Interests of the Duke of *Gloucester* to those of the Duke of *Burgundy*, did not seem to trouble himself much about the Occasion of Complaint he gave that Prince.

Henry was exceeding desirous of doing well for his two Brothers, who were both Princes of great Merit, and with whom he was well pleased. In 1419 he had a secret Negotiation with *Joan* Queen of *Naples*, who being pressed by her Enemies, promised to adopt the Duke of *Bedford* and declare him her sole Heir. This Business having miscarried upon Queen *Joan's* Affairs taking a new turn, *Henry* had a Mind to procure the Duke of *Bedford* the only Daughter of *Frederick* Burgrave of *Nuremburg*, and afterwards a Daughter of the Duke of *Lorrain*. At the same Time, he treated about a Match between the Duke of *Gloucester* and *Blanch* of *Navarre* Queen Dowager of *Sicily*, who in her own Right had a claim to that Kingdom. At last, an Opportunity offering to help this Prince to *Jaquelina* Countess of *Hainault*, he was willing to lay hold of it, as this Marriage could not but be advantageous to *England*. But as her Marriage with the Duke of *Brabant* was first to be annulled, this Affair could not be accomplished before the King's Death.

It was not till the Beginning of *May* 1422, that the Besieged of the *Market-Place* of *Meaux* demanded a Capitulation: but they could obtain no other Terms than to be Prisoners of War. Nay the King excepted all the *English*, *Irish*, and *Scots*, who were in the Place, and all that had a Hand in the Death of the Duke of *Burgundy*; and likewise all those who had any Towns or Castles in their Power, till they had delivered them up to him. In short, he reserved four Officers of the Garrison, namely, *Lewis du*

1422.

*The King's
projects
Matches
for his bro-
thers.
Act. Pub.
X. 701 —
705.*

*ibid.
716; 741.*

*The taking
of Meaux.
Act. Pub.
X. 212.
The King's
Severity to
the Besieg-
ed.*

1422. *Gnaſt, Dennis de Vaurus*, the Baſtard of *Vaurus*, and another, in order to bring them to Juſtice. They were all four executed. *Du Gnaſt* was beheaded, and the other three ſuffered a more ſhameful Death. The Baſtard of *Vaurus* was hanged upon a certain Tree, which from him was called the *Tree of Vaurus*, becauſe he had cauſed many *Burgundians* to be hanged on it, in revenge for the Death of the Earl of *Armagnac*. This was a ſevere Capitulation, which gave occaſion to the Beſieged to repent of their holding out ſo obſtinately, when in all likelihood they had no Proſpect of being relieved.

Queen Catharine returns to France. The two Courts join at Paris.

About the Time of the ſurrender of *Meaux*, Queen *Catharine* arrived from *England*, attended by the Duke of *Bedford*, who had left the Regency to the Duke of *Glouceſter* his Brother. The two Courts being joined at *Bois de Vincennes*, went from thence a little after, in order to keep the *Whitſun*-Holy-days at *Paris*. *Henry* lodged in the *Louvre*, and *Charles* in the Palace of *St. Pol*, where he had but a ſmall Court, whiſt the Regent-King's was numerous and ſplendid. On *Whitſunday* they dined together in Publick, the two Kings and the two Queens with Crowns on their Heads. Thoſe of the *French* who had any Regard left for their Country, could not without Grief behold the King of *England*, though outwardly paying ſome Deference to the King his Father-in-law, ruling *France* with an abſolute Power. Their Diſguſt was ſtill increaſed by a Tax *Henry* impoſed for the coining of a new ſort of Money *. The *Parisians* murmured at it very much, but to no Purpoſe. Their Condition was very different from what it was a few Years before, when their Adherence to one of the Parties decided the Fate of both.

A new Coin in France.

The Dauphin takes la Charité and beſieges Coſne.

Whiſt *Henry* was preparing to renew the Campaign, which had been interrupted by the Queen's Arrival, News came that the *Dauphin* had taken *la Charité*, which opened him a Paſſage over the *Loire*. Shortly after Advice

* The new Coin was called a *Salute*, whereon was ſtamped the Angel ſaluting the Bleſſed Virgin, one holding the Arms of *France*, the other of *England*, with the King's Title. On the Reverse, *Chriſtus Vinctus, Chriſtus regnat, Chriſtus imperat*.

was brought that he was besieging *Cosne* upon the same River, and that the Besieged had already capitulated to surrender, unless relieved by the Duke of *Burgundy* before the 18th of *August*. The Duke finding he was engaged in Honour to relieve that Place, desired the King to send him a Supply of Troops; to whom the King returned in Answer, that he would come himself, and accordingly set forward immediately at the Head of his Army. But whilst he was pleasing himself with the flattering Prospect of a Victory which would render him Master of all *France*, he was seized with a *Flux*, which obliged him to halt at *Senlis*. However for fear his Illness should hinder *Cosne* from being relieved, he ordered the Duke of *Bedford* with the best Part of his Troops to go and join the Duke of *Burgundy*. The *Dauphin* being informed of their joining, and not being strong enough to give them Battle, retreated, and the two Dukes having nothing more to do there, marched towards *Troye*. In the mean Time *Henry* hoping his Distemper would wear off, had taken Litter in order to go to the Army. But finding he grew worse rather than better, he resolved at length to return back to *Vincennes*.

1422.

The King falls sick.

The Dauphin retires.

Henry goes to Vincennes.

The Duke of *Bedford*, hearing of the ill State the King his Brother was in, sat out immediately from *Troye*, in order to come to him. He found him at the Point of Death, but expecting his approaching Dissolution with great Firmness of Mind. Before he breathed his last, he sent for the Dukes of *Bedford* and *Exeter*, the Earl of *Warwick*, and seven or eight *English* Lords more, to give them his last Instructions. He told them, " That his Reign had been short but
 " glorious; That although his Claim to *France* had caused
 " a great deal of Blood to be spilt, it could not be laid to
 " his Charge, since nothing but Force could have brought
 " the *French* to a reasonable Peace; That for his Part, he
 " beheld his approaching Death without Concern; but
 " however could not but lament the Fate of the Prince his
 " Son, who by Reason of his Age was incapable of finishing
 " a Work so happily begun; That therefore he intreated
 " them for God's Sake to continue strictly united
 " together for the Service of the Infant-Prince, who was
 " going

His dying Speech.

1422.

“ going to be their King; to take Care of his Education,
 “ and to give the Queen all the Consolation that lay in their
 “ Power, and of which she had so great Need. He added,
 “ that his last Advice to them was, to cultivate diligently
 “ the Friendship of the Duke of *Burgundy*, and to be sure
 “ not to release the Prisoners of *Azincourt*, till his Son
 “ was of Age to hold the Reins of the Government him-
 “ self. That in case they should think fit to conclude a
 “ Peace, it should not be without securing the Sovereignty
 “ of *Normandy* to the Crown of *England*. He concluded
 “ with saying, That it was his Desire the Duke of *Bedford*
 “ should take upon him the Administration of the Affairs
 “ of *France*, and the Duke of *Gloucester* be Protector of
 “ *England* during his Son's *Minority*.”

His Stead-
 fastness at the
 Approach
 of Death.

Having spoken these Words, he asked his Physicians how long they thought he had to live. Upon which one of them kneeling down, said with Tears in his Eyes, that without a Miracle he could not live above two Hours. This terrible Sentence giving him no manner of Concern, he sent for his Confessor, and having made his Confession, ordered his Chaplains to read the *seven penitential Psalms*.

He declares
 he designed
 to have
 warred a-
 gainst the
 Infidels.

When they came to these Words of the 1st, *Build thou the Walls of Jerusalem*, he interrupted them, and declared upon the Word of a dying Prince, that after he had settled a firm Peace in *France*, he had resolved to go and wage War upon the *Infidels*, and endeavour to free *Jerusalem* from their Yoke. The Moment they had done Reading,

He dies.

this great Prince expired on the 31st of *August*, in the Thirty-fourth Year of his Age, after a triumphant Reign of nine Years, four Months and eleven Days. His Body was brought into *England*, and buried at *Westminster* among his Ancestors, with a Funeral Pomp suitable to the Grandeur he had enjoyed whilst alive, and to the Esteem his Subjects had conceived for him. His Queen, to honour in a particular Manner the Memory of so illustrious a Spouse, caused to be laid on his Tomb a Statue of Silver gilt, as large as the Life, and extremely like him *.

If

* The Statue was only covered over with Silver-Plate gilt, but the

If, in order to know the Character of the Monarch whose Reign we have just gone through, a Man should adhere, without any further Examination, to the Commendations given by the Writers of his own Nation, he could not help representing him to his Mind as a Prince surpassing all the most accomplished that had ever appeared in the World before him. Not one *English* Historian ascribes to him the least Failing, but all with one Mouth speak of him as of a perfect Hero. On the other Hand, the *French* have endeavoured to draw in his Portraiture certain *Shadows* which tarnish the Lustre. It will be necessary therefore, in order to form a just Representation of him, to consider his Actions with their Circumstances, abstracted from the Admiration of some and the Envy of others.

In the first Place, with respect to the Government of his own Kingdom, he ought not to be denied his due Praise, in that he avoided to tread in the Steps of *Richard II.* and even of his own Father, and constantly refrained to encroach on the Liberties and Privileges of the People. His readiness at all Times to give the Royal Assent to such *Acts* as the Parliament judged necessary for the Welfare of the Kingdom, was as clear an Evidence of his having the Good and Happiness of his People at Heart. Nevertheless in this very Thing, he was to blame to suffer himself to be carried to so great Lengths, as contrary to his own Inclination and the Dictates of his Reason, to consent to the Persecution of the *Lollards*, out of pure Condescension to the *Clergy*. Indeed it was next to impossible, that being endowed with an excellent Judgment, he should not be sensible on how slender a Foundation the Charge against them was built, in the Beginning of his Reign; and yet rather than publicly retract his Opinion, he all along feigned to believe it true, at the very Time he was showing Favour to some that were sentenced to Death, who had persisted in pleading not Guilty to the pretended Crime.

But

the Head was all of Massy-Silver. All which at the Abby's Suppression was broken off, so that there is nothing to be seen now but a Headless Monument, with two Latin Verses on his Tomb.

1422.

But it is not chiefly for what he acted in *England*, that Historians have been so lavish of their Praises; his warlike Exploits are the main Subject of his *Panegyrick*. And yet it may be said perhaps without magnifying Matters, that his Martial Deeds were what he was the least remarkable for, notwithstanding the glorious Success that attended his Arms. The Conquest of *France* considered in it self, has something Grand and Marvellous. But the View of the Posture of Affairs in that Kingdom renders it doubtless not so wonderful as it appears to be when abstracted from all its Circumstances. *Lewis VIII*, Father of *St. Lewis*, conquered *England* at a like Juncture, and yet no one ever took it in his Head to ascribe the Conquest solely to his Wisdom or Valour. *Henry* formed the Project of his Enterprize at a Time when the Civil Dissentions of the *French* rendered them unable to stand upon their Defence. The Towns he took from them were defended only by the Besieged themselves, without any Army ever appearing to relieve them. And yet some of these Places took him up several Months, and surrendered not till compelled by Famine.

The Battle of *Azin-court* is then the great and almost only warlike Exploit which can justly afford Matter for *Panegyrick*. In this famous Action it was that he gave Proofs of an uncommon Conduct, Resolution and Bravery. But this very Battle, the Issue whereof was to him so Glorious, affords likewise a Handle to tax him with Imprudence. It may be said, that if he came off Conqueror, it was because he had reduced himself to a Necessity of vanquishing or dying, to which a General never exposes himself, without causing his Conduct to be severely censured, whatever the Event may be. His undertaking to retire to *Calais* without weighing beforehand the Difficulties of the March, and without being sure of a Passage over the *Somme*; his Wilfulness in resolving to pass that River in order to force his Way through an Army so superiour in Number to his own, seem not to be excused but by the Success of the Battle of *Azin-court*, which was a sort of Miracle. Had he lost the Day, as he should naturally have done,

1422.

done, the World would not have failed to charge him with Indiscretion or Rashness. The Necessity he was reduced to during his March, if we may believe the *French* Historians, of offering to restore *Harfleur*, and repair the Damages he had done to *France*, plainly show how much he himself was convinced of the Error he had committed. This Battle therefore was more glorious to him on account of his personal Valour, than with regard to his Capacity in the Art of War. It must be confessed, that never did Prince expose himself more in a Battle, and give more signal Proofs of true Valour than did *Henry* in that Day's Action.

As to his other Conquests in *France*, I do not know whether his greatest Admirers have Reason to wish he had met with more Opposition. What might have happened in that Case is beyond humane Knowledge. It cannot however be denied that the Victory of *Azincourt* strongly prepossesses us in his Favour. But what may be extolled in him, without Danger of being deceived, is the Excellency of his *Genius*, and the Solidity of his *Judgment*. He knew how to manage the great Undertaking he had formed with wonderful Prudence and Address, wisely taking Advantage of the several Revolutions which happened in *France*, and making them all turn to his Benefit. Few Princes would have known like him how to hold their Hand after so glorious a Victory as that of *Azincourt*, and sit down in Quiet, which, though in appearance not so honourable as the continuation of the War, was in reality to him more advantageous. This Piece of *Policy* in my Opinion, is one of the best Things he ever did in his Life, and the strongest Proof of the Soundness of his *Judgment*. His Negotiations with the *Dauphin* and the Duke of *Burgundy* at one and the same Time, and his *Instructions* to his Ambassadors are plain Indications of his Abilities, and how difficult it was to over-reach him.

It is no great wonder that the prosperous Issue of his Undertakings should gain him extraordinary Commendations from his own Nation, especially as it cannot be denied that his Success was no less owing to his Prudent Conduct, than to the favourable Junctures he met with. In

1422. a Word, he forced the *French* to own him for *Regent* and *Heir* of their Kingdom. And this is one of those Actions which seldom fail of being praised beyond Measure. Accordingly Historians have not been satisfied with comparing him to *David*, *Alexander*, and *Cæsar*, but have ranked him far above these Great Men. But without going so far for Comparisons, which after all seem not altogether just, methinks he might with more Reason be put in Parallel with *Edward III* his Great-Grandfather. However, I should scarce make any Scruple to give the Preference to *Edward*. *Edward* had to deal with all *France* united against him, and the Difficulties he encountered in his Conquests were incomparably greater, and required an abler Head to surmount them than did those which opposed the Progress of *Henry V*.

What I have been saying of this Prince properly relates only to the main Affair of his Life, his War with *France*. I shall now describe his other Qualifications, which though not so glaring, are no less worthy of Admiration than the glorious Success of his Arms, which has almost wholly engrossed the Attention of the Publick. It is certain he had all the Endowments of Body and Mind necessary to the forming of a great Man. He was tall and majestick of Stature, though a little too slender and somewhat long-necked. His Hair was Black, and his Eyes of the same Colour were exceeding bright and lively. He was strong and robust, very expert in all bodily Exercises, chaste, temperate, at least after he came to the Crown, inured to Hardships, and patiently bearing Hunger and Thirst, Heat and Cold. In all these Things he was a standing Example to his Troops of Moderation and Constancy. A great lover of *Justice*, which he followed himself, and saw observed very punctually. Religious without Disguise, persevering in Piety, constant in his private as well as publick Devotions, and a great Friend of the *Church* and *Clergy*. By these Qualities, he won the Esteem and Affections of the *Ecclesiasticks*, who did not a little contribute to set off the Lustre of his Glory. He was prudent in Council, bold in Undertaking, and resolute in executing. As to his Valour, he gave

gave continual Proofs of it throughout the whole Course of his Life. There is another Thing likewise for which he ought to be praised, he caused *military Discipline* to flourish again, which had been almost entirely neglected in *England*, ever since the Reign of *Edward III.* Never did the *English* Nation shine with such Lustre as under this renowned Prince. To this we may add, he was so fortunate, as to finish his Days in the midst of his Prosperity, and not live to see with *Edward III.*, the Fruits of all his Labours come to nothing.

1421.

Having related what the *English* say to this Prince's Advantage, the Faithfulness of an Historian requires that I pass not over in Silence some Imperfections which the *French* upbraid him with, and which Envy and Spleen have perhaps caused them to aggravate. In the first Place, they tax him with Cruelty, and making War in a barbarous Manner. They ground their Charge not only upon the Slaughter of the Prisoners of the Battle of *Azincourt*, but also upon his putting to Death several Officers after the taking of *Caen*, *Melun* and *Meaux*. But as to the Prisoners of *Azincourt*, there is no dispute but the Maxims of War, and the Necessity of providing for his own Safety, will justify the Orders he gave upon that Account, granting they were not too hasty. As to his Treatment of the Burghers and Garrisons of the Places he became Master of, I confess it is not impossible but he might be swayed a little by Revenge, on the Score of the Time these brave Men made him lose; but this can only be said by Conjecture. That he used Severity towards some we know; but the Reasons why he did so we are ignorant of. To discuss such Matters of Fact, more Circumstances are required than are come to our Knowledge. However, with regard to those of *Meaux*, 'tis certain they had incurred the Guilt of several Murders, for which doubtless they deserved to be punished. It was neither unjust nor barbarous to order *the Bastard of Vaurus* to be hanged on the same Tree whereon he himself had caused to be hanged all the Adherents of the Duke of *Burgundy* that fell into his Hands. For the other three that were executed at the same Time, I know not the Rea-

1422. *son*: but it is to be presumed, that they were not chosen out of all the rest of the Garrison, purely to be instances of the Severity of the Conquerors. As for the *English* and *Irish* which were in the Service of the King's Enemies, their being excepted in the Capitulation, needs no Apology. It were to be wished for *Henry's* Reputation, that he could be as easily justified in refusing to give Quarter to the *Scots*, on Pretence they had disobeyed their King who was actually his Prisoner.

The *French* accuse moreover this Prince of excessive Pride, even to the causing, as they assure us, the Marshal *de l'Isle-Adam* to be committed to the *Bastile*, for having dared to look in his Face whilst he was speaking to him. It is true, if he had no other Reason, this was a high Strain of Haughtiness and Rigour. But can it be denied that a Look, a bare Gesture, may be sometimes very offensive? And who knows but the Marshal, as he spoke, used some aggravating Circumstances, or rash Expression, which rendered him worthy of Chastisement, and which they have thought fit to conceal, in order to make what the King did appear the more odious?

Avarice is another Blemish they confidently reproach him with. They affirm, that after he was declared *Regent* and *Heir of France*, he never did one Act of Generosity either to any of the *Burgundian* Party who had served him, or to those of the *Dauphin's*, who had voluntarily submitted to him. I shall not take upon me to clear him from this Charge, especially as it does not appear that he was very liberal to the *English* themselves who served him, either by reason of the great Expence he was at, or because his Inclination did not lie that way. Though he had abundance of good Officers and excellent Generals, we do not find that he rewarded them according to their Merit and Services. We must however except the Earl of *Dorset*, to whom he assigned a Pension of a Thousand Pound a Year, when he created him Earl of *Exeter*; *Falstaff*, to whom he gave a considerable Estate near *Harfleur*; the *Capital of Buch* of the House of *Foix*, who had the Lordship of *Longueville*; and the Earl of *Salisbury*, to whom he gave

gave the Earldom of *Perch*. But after all, it is very possible that *Henry's* want of Liberality was the Effect of his Prudence. I have hinted before, that the Revenue of the Crown amounted not to above Fifty-six Thousand Pounds, and that he was forced to pawn his Jewels to supply what the Sums granted him by Parliament wanted to defray the Charges of the War. Was it proper to appear liberal in such Circumstances? Upon many Occasions it would be well if Sovereigns would stint their Bounties, which are but too often bestowed at the Expence of the poor People.

Lastly, An unbounded Ambition is a Vice which the *French* think they may justly tax him with. In order to know whether this Charge be well-grounded, a Man should examine whether he was in the Right to renew, or rather to continue a War against *France*, which she herself was the Occasion of by the Breach of the Treaty of *Bretigny*, and which she herself had commenced. But this Inquiry would be needless, after what has been said upon this Subject in the Reign of *Edward III.* to which recourse may be had. However, it cannot be denied but that *Henry* was very ambitious. His first Project was only to restore the *Peace of Bretigny*. But as soon as he had a Glimpse of being able to ascend the Throne of *France*, his Ambition hurried him beyond the Bounds he had set to himself in the Beginning of the War. I have already taken notice, that he had Thoughts of making one of his Brothers King of *Naples*, and the other of *Sicily*; and that in order to procure the Duke of *Gloucester* four Provinces of the *Low-Countries*, he made use of a Means which certainly was not very honourable. We find in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, that he had a Design to purchase the Dutchy of *Luxemburg* of the Emperor *Sigismund*, and to treat with him about the pretended Claim of the Emperors to the *Dauphiné*. In fine, it appears there also, that he would have paid the Ransom of a Lord of the *House of Blois*, who was Prisoner to the Marquis *de Bade*, probably, in order to assert one Day the Pretensions of that *House* to the Dutchy of *Bre-sagne*.

By

1422.
His Issue.

By *Catharine of France* his Queen, *Henry* left but one Son, of the same Name with himself, about eight or nine Months old. The Queen his Widow, forgetting she had been Wife to so great a Prince, and that she was descended from the most Illustrious *House of Europe*, married some Time after a *Welsh* Gentleman, called *Owen Tudor*, not without giving great Offence both to the *English* and *French*. 'Tis pretended that this Gentleman was descended from the antient Kings of *Wales* : but I do not know whether his Extraction be well made out *. *Owen Tudor* had by the Queen three Sons, namely, *Edmund*, *Jasper*, and *Owen*. The eldest married *Margaret*, only Daughter of *John Beaufort* Duke of *Somerset*, Grandson of *John of Gaunt* Duke of *Lancaster*, and *Catharine Roet* his Third Wife. He was Father of *Henry VII*, whom we shall see hereafter mount the Throne, and leave it to his Posterity.

Charles VI. King of *France* out-lived *Henry* but two Months. The Death of these two Monarchs is going to open a Scene very different from that we have just beheld.

* It is likewise said that he was the Son of a *Brewer*. But the Meanness of his Extraction was made up by the Delicacy of his Person, being reckoned the handsomest Man of his Time.

The End of the Reign of HENRY V.

T H E





THE
HISTORY of *ENGLAND*.

BOOK XII.

*The Reign of HENRY VI; with a Dissertation
on the MAID of ORLEANS.*

14. HENRY VI, *Sirnamed of
WINDSOR.*



It looked as if *Henry V* had been taken out of the World just as he was within Reach of the Prize he had been contending for, by the particular Direction of Divine Providence, which is sometimes pleased to put a Stop to the best concerted Undertakings when upon the very Point of being accomplished. The

Peace of *Troye* not being yet firmly settled, and the Prince who was to mount the Throne, but an Infant of nine Months old, every Thing seemed to concur to take from the *English* the Prospect of ever seeing the two Kingdoms of

HENRY VI.

1422.

It is resolved in England to maintain young Henry's Rights to France.

1422.

of *France* and *England* united under the Dominion of a King of their Nation. But on the other Hand, the noble Qualities of the Dukes of *Bedford* and *Gloucester*, Brothers of the deceased King, dispelled the Fears of the most Timorous. How great soever their late Loss might be, it was not thought irreparable, since the Valour, Experience and Wisdom of these two Princes enabled them to support the new King's *Minority*. Very far therefore from suffering their Courage to sink at so terrible a Blow, they let the World see, by proclaiming young *Henry*, King of *England* and *Heir of France*, that they were determined to maintain what the King his Father had so gloriously established.

Henry VI.
is proclaim-
ed Heir of
France.

The Duke of *Gloucester* had governed the Kingdom by the Title of *Guardian*, ever since the Duke of *Bedford* his elder Brother waited upon the Queen into *France*. But this Dignity being inconsistent with a King actually present in his Kingdom, ceased the Moment young *Henry* was proclaimed (a). It is true, the late King had ordered upon his Death-Bed, that during the *Non-age* of the Prince his Son, the Duke of *Gloucester* should be *Regent* or *Protector* of *England*. But this was not a sufficient Warrant for him to take upon him the Exercise of that important Office. The Confirmation of the *States* was also requisite. For that and some other Reasons no less urgent, the *Council* made haste to summon a Parliament for the 9th of *November*. Till the *two Houses* should settle the Form of the Government, during the King's *Minority*, the Council, whereof the Duke of *Gloucester* was *President*, issued out all necessary Orders for such Matters as could not admit of Delay.

A Parlia-
ment is
called.

The Welsh
begin to
stir.

A few Days after the Council was informed of some Motions in *Wales* and some of the neighbouring *Counties*, which might be attended with ill Consequences. It is very likely, as the Earl of *March* was very considerable in those Parts, some of his most zealous Adherents had a Mind to raise

(a) A *Guardian* is appointed to govern in the King's Absence only, and a *Regent* or *Protector* during an *Interregnum*, or the *Non-age* of the King.

raise Disturbances, in order to try, in such a Juncture, to revive the Earl's Claim to the Crown. It may at least be presumed, that these Motions appeared to be of some Moment, since besides the Orders sent by the Council to the *Sheriffs* upon this Occasion, Commissioners were appointed to see them put in Execution.

During the Time between the Calling and Meeting of the Parliament, died King *Charles VI.* at *Paris*, the 21st of *October*, having out-lived *Henry V.* his Son-in-law but fifty Days. His Death entirely changed the Face of Affairs. There was no question but the *Dauphin* would take the Title of *King of France*, and exert his utmost to get Possession of a Crown which he looked upon as fallen to him by the Death of the King his Father. Whilst *Charles VI.* was alive, many of his Subjects thought it their Duty to obey him, without inquiring whether what he did was conformable to the Laws, and beneficial to the *State*, because they had taken their Oath to him unconditionally. But after his Death, they believed it no less incumbent upon them, to acknowledge the *Dauphin* his Son for their Sovereign, notwithstanding the Peace of *Troye* which deprived him of his Right. The Truth is, that Peace carried with it but too visible Marks of Corruption and Violence, to be ever looked upon by the honest Part of the *French* as a fundamental and unalterable Law, though many of them who believed it very unjust had been constrained to approve it. Thus the *Dauphin*, who in the latter Years of the King his Father might in some measure be counted a Rebel, was in a different Case, after it was in his Power to assume the Title of Sovereign.

These Considerations obliged the Duke of *Bedford*, who had continued in *France*, seriously to reflect on the ill Consequences which this Alteration might be attended with, and to find Means to prevent them. *Charles VI.* had no sooner closed his Eyes, but the Duke ordered *Henry* to be proclaimed *King of France*, and pursuant to the Will of the late King his Brother, he took himself the Title of *Regent*. Then he broke the *Great Seal*, and caused a new one

Death of
the King of
France.

Henry VI.
is pro-
claimed
King of
France at
Paris
The Duke
of Bedford
takes the
Title of Re-
gent.

1422. to be made with the Arms of *France* and *England*, and the Effigies of the young King holding a Scepter in each Hand.

The French
Lords
swear Al-
legiance to
Henry.

The Peace of *Troye* having settled the Succession of the Crown of *France*, the Regent thought he might, upon that Foundation, and without demanding afresh the Consent of the *States*, put the King his Nephew in Possession of the Kingdom. Wherefore, contenting himself with convening at *Paris* all the great Men which espoused the *English* Party, he made a Speech to them, exhorting them to recognize young *Henry* for their Sovereign. He insisted on the Peace of *Troye*, and the Oath they had taken to support it; and endeavoured to convince them, that it was for their own as well as the Kingdom's Interest inviolably to observe it. This done, all that were present swore Allegiance to *Henry*, and did Homage to him, in the Person of the Regent, for the Lands they held of the Crown. The same Thing was afterwards required of those that were absent, and of the Towns in Subjection to the *English*.

A Deputa-
tion to
Henry.

This Ceremony being over, the Regent, the Council of *France*, and City of *Paris*, sent Deputies to *London*, of whom the Bishop of *Terouenne* was the Chief, to congratulate the young King upon his Accession to the Crowns of the two Kingdoms. At the same Time the Deputies had Orders to go by the *Low Countries*, and exhort the Duke of *Burgundy* to stand firm to the Alliance. It was feared the Death of *Henry V.* and of *Charles VI.* might cause him to alter his Measures.

The Dau-
phin takes
the Title
of King
of France,
and is
crowned at
Poitiers.

Whilst the Duke of *Bedford* was taking all necessary Precautions to keep the Affairs of the King his Nephew in a good Posture, the *Dauphin* was no less intent upon His. He was at *Espaly*, a House belonging to the Bishop of *Puy*, when he heard of his Father's Death. He shed abundance of Tears at the News; whether Nature roused herself upon that Occasion, or whether he had all along preserved a filial Love for a Father, who was not to blame for the Hurt he had done him. The first Day he appeared in Mourning; but on the Morrow he put on Scarlet, and was proclaimed King of *France*, with all the Solemnity the State of his Court, and the Place he was in would admit of. After which,

which, he came to *Poitiers*, where he had removed the Parliament of *Paris*. He was crowned there in the Beginning of *November*, because the City of *Rheims*, where the Coronation of the Kings of *France* is usually performed, was in the Hands of the *English*.

1422.

Thus *Henry VI.* and *Charles VII.* assumed both at the same Time the Title of *King of France*, and disputed with one another the Possession of the Throne for Thirty Years together. This makes the History of the present Reign so interwoven with that of *France*, that there is no separating them. The *English* were bent upon keeping for their young King the Crown of *France*, which the King his Father had obtained by his Labours, and which they believed his Ancestors had been unjustly deprived of. On the other Hand, *Charles* proposed likewise to take Possession of the same Crown, which they had resolved to take from him, and which, in his Opinion, came to him not so much from the King his Father, seduced by ill Counsels, as from a long Train of Ancestors who had enjoyed it before him. This important Quarrel produced numberless Events, for the better understanding of which, a pretty exact Knowledge of the Posture of the Affairs of both the Kings, in the Beginning of their Reigns is very necessary. It is no less requisite to know the Characters of the Persons that were at the Head of Affairs, as well *Civil* as *Military*, in the two Kingdoms. In a word, to have a clear Notion wherein consisted the Advantages and Disadvantages of each of the two Kings during this tedious War, it will be absolutely necessary to have a general Idea of the State *France* was in, with regard to the Succours each of the two Kings might have, as well from the Princes and *Vassals* of the Crown, as from Foreigners. This Review seems to me indispensable, in order to avoid the Obscurity which would incessantly occur, in a Recital made up of so many various Events.

In the first Place then, for the Persons of the two Kings, *Charles* was one and twenty Years old, and *Henry* but an Infant of nine Months. However, in this very Thing the Advantage lay on *Henry's* Side, whose Affairs were

*Situations
of the Af-
fairs of
both Kings.*

1422.

managed by two Uncles of great Abilities, and by the wisest *Council* then in *Europe*. On the contrary *Charles*, who never passed for an extraordinary *Genius*, was by reason of his Age more difficult to be ruled, his Passions often hindering him from following the best Advice. To the Time he assumed the Title of King, he had distinguished himself neither by his Valour nor Conduct. More prone to Pleasures than War, he appeared very unfit to restore the Affairs of the *French* Monarchy, which was upon the Brink of Destruction. The Murder of the Duke of *Burgundy*, committed before his Face, and no doubt by his Orders, had created a great Prejudice against him. He had acted with as little Conscience with regard to the Duke of *Bretagne* his Brother-in-law. This Prince, whom the Earls of *Ponthieu* by a notorious Piece of Treachery had carried away by Force and long detained in Prison, came to know after his Deliverance, that the Plot was contrived against him with the Knowledge and Consent of the *Dauphin*. And therefore it might be said, that it was not *Charles's* Fault that the Duke of *Bretagne* did not undergo the same Fate with the Duke of *Burgundy*. These Things made a deep Wound in his Reputation, which was not otherwise supported by any bright Virtue or Action. All that could be said to his Advantage was, that he was not so mean-spirited as to stoop to his Enemies. But there was no need of being a great *Genius*, to refuse casting himself down a Precipice which he saw before his Eyes.

As to the Forces of the two Kings, it is easy to see that *Henry* had vastly the Advantage of his Rival in that Respect, since together with what he held in *France*, he had all *England* for him too. *France* was then shared between them in such a Manner, that each had whole Provinces under his Obedience, whilst in some others, each had his Strong-holds and Adherents. In the Provinces thus divided, there was scarce a walled Town but what had a Garrison for one or other Side. And this made them for above thirty Years together the Seat of the War.

Charles

Charles was possessed of all *Languedoc*, from whence he had not long since driven out the Earl of *Foix*, whilst *Henry V.* was employed in the Siege of *Melun*, and where he had appointed for Governour the Earl of *Clermont*, eldest Son of the Duke of *Bourbon*. Since that Time the Earl of *Foix* had attempted in vain to recover that Province.

The whole *Dauphiné*, was still subject to *Charles*, who held also *Berry*, *Auvergne*, *Touraine*, Part of *Saintonge*, the City of *Rochel* and *Poitou*. Besides these Provinces, he considered as Countries dependent of him, *Provence*, *Maine* and *Anjou*, for Reasons mentioned hereafter.

Henry was in Possession of *Normandy* and *Guienne*, the two richest Provinces of the Kingdom. *Picardy*, *Champagne*, *Brie*, the *Isle of France* were his, excepting a few Places which still held out for King *Charles*. In short, he was Master of *Paris*, the Metropolis of the Kingdom, which alone might be put in the Balance against a great and rich Province. He could likewise rely upon the two *Burgundies*, *Flanders* and *Artois*, which belonged to the Duke of *Burgundy* his Vassal and Ally.

From what has been said it is easy to perceive, that the War might be waged in all the Provinces of *France*, *Bretagne* excepted, which hitherto had stood Neuter. But there were some Places more exposed than others to the Fury of the Sword, as *Picardy*, *Champagne*, *Brie*, and the *Isle of France*. The Reason is, because the *English* wanted before all things to clear these Provinces of King *Charles's* Garrisons, to the end they might attack him afterwards beyond the *Loire*, without being forced to leave any thing behind them. For the same Reason, it was *Charles's* Business to keep up the War in the same Provinces, that he might prevent his Enemies from pushing their Conquests in the *Southern* Provinces, which were his last Refuge.

Having taken a view of the State of the Provinces, it will be necessary to examine the Situation of the *French* Princes immediate *Vassals* of the Crown. And first of the Duke of *Bretagne*.

1422.
Situation of
the Duke of
Bretagne.

Ever since the Beginning of the War, *John V.* Duke of *Bretagne*, had stood Neuter, having avoided the being concerned in a Quarrel which could not fail of drawing the War into his Country, if he were so ill-advised as to declare for either of the two Kings. But after the Peace of *Troye* was signed and sworn he believed it would be no longer in his Power to continue in a State of Neutrality. *Charles VI.* and *Henry V.* being united together by the Peace, and there being but one King of *France*, he could not help acknowledging him, unless he would openly espouse the Side of the *Dauphin*. But that would have been a very imprudent Step, since the *Dauphin's*, Affairs were in so low a Condition, that there was little Appearance of his ever being able to lift up his Head again. Upon these Accounts, as soon as the Duke saw the two Kings united, he sent *Henry V.* word, that he was ready to sign the Peace of *Troye*, and do Homage for his Dutchy to King *Charles*. This Negotiation, though begun in 1420, could not be ended before *Henry's* Death. In all likelihood the Duke of *Bretagne* spun out the Time on purpose to see how the War against the *Dauphin* would go. However, *Henry* dying before this Affair was finished, the Duke of *Bretagne* saw himself in the same State he was in before the Peace of *Troye*, that is, at liberty to chuse Sides, or stand Neuter, as the Issue of things should determine him. There was however one very good Reason for his being averse to side with the *Dauphin*, and that was, the Discovery he had made that the *Dauphin* had a great Hand in the Conspiracy of the *Pontievrians*. Nevertheless, preferring the Peace of his Subjects to the gratifying his Revenge, he had not thought fit to declare for *England*.

Act. Pub.
X 1716,
206, 228.

The State of
the Earl of
Rich-
mond.

Arthur Earl of *Richmond*, Brother of the Duke of *Bretagne*, was taken Prisoner at *Azincourt* in 1415, and carried into *England*, where he remained till 1420. In the mean while, the Duke his Brother being seized by the *Pontievrians*, he demanded King *Henry's* Leave to go and work his Deliverance. Leave was granted him upon certain Terms, namely, That on *Michaelmas-day* 1422, *Arthur* should return back to *London*, and appear before the King,

Act. Pub.
X. 8.

King, or his Successor, the Lord *Chancellor*, or the *Mayor* of *London*. 1422.

That during the Time he was gone, he should make no Alliance with the *Dauphin*, or any other Person whatever, against the King of *England* or the Duke of *Burgundy*, neither should he attempt any any thing contrary to the *Peace of Troye*.

That *Alan de Rohan* the Duke of *Bretagne*'s Lieutenant, the States and Barons of the Country, should promise the same Thing during the Earl's Absence from *England*.

For Security of the Performance of these Conditions, the Earl of *Montfort* was to be delivered to the King, whom he promised to restore upon the Earl of *Richmond*'s Return to *London*.

The Earl ratified and swore all these Articles, and then sat out for *Bretagne*. The Death of *Henry V.* happening a Month before his Leave was expired, instead of coming back to *England* according to his Oath, he stayed at the Duke his Brother's Court, who was freed from his Imprisonment. Thus at the Time of the Death of *Charles VI.* he was really Prisoner of the *English*, though he was not actually in their Power; and moreover, liable to the Reproach of having broke his Word. Some have imagined they could justify him by saying, that he only stood bound to the Person of *Henry V.* and therefore upon that Monarch's Death looked upon himself as freed from his Oath. But this pretended Limitation of his Engagement is destroyed by the Articles above.

Hist of Ch.
VII. by
J. B. J.
Tom. I.
195.

Besides the Situation the Duke of *Bretagne* was in with respect to the two Rival Kings, he was moreover spurred on to side with the *English*, by the Earl of *Richmond* his Brother, who had a great influence over him. *Arthur* not only designed by that Means to free himself from the Engagement he was under; but had also some other Views which shall be mentioned hereafter. It may therefore be said, that although the Duke of *Bretagne* stood Neuter, or was desirous of still passing for such, he was however upon the Point of declaring for *England*.

1422.
State of the
Duke of
Burgundy.

As for the Duke of *Burgundy*, there is no Occasion to repeat here the Reasons he had to keep firm to the Alliance of the *English*. It will suffice to say, that he did not think the Death of the Duke his Father sufficiently revenged, whilst the *Dauphin* enjoyed any Part of *France*.

Of the Duke
of Anjou
King of Si-
cily.

Lewis III Duke of *Anjou* and King of *Sicily*, who was possessed in *France*, of *Provence*, *Anjou*, and *Maine*, was entirely in the Interest of King *Charles* his Brother-in-law. But he for some Time had been taken up at *Naples* in securing the Inheritance of *Joan II*, Queen of that Country, who had adopted him for her Son. In his Absence *Violante* of *Arragon* his Mother had the Administration of his Affairs, and remained firmly attached to King *Charles* her Son-in-law.

Of the Earl
of Foix and
his Bro-
thers.
Olhag.
Hist. of
Foix and
Bearn.

The *House* of *Foix* made then a very great Figure in the Kingdom *. *Matthew* of *Castelbon*, Earl of *Foix* and Sovereign of *Bearn*, dying without Issue in 1399, *Elizabeth* his Sister, Wife of *Archembald de Grailly*, Captal of *Buch* in *Guienne*, took Possession of his Dominions. *Charles VI* attempted to deprive the Captal and his Wife of this noble Inheritance, but they found Means to keep Possession. *Archembald* died in 1413, leaving five Sons, all of eminent Note. *John* the eldest was Earl of *Foix* and *Bigorre*, and Sovereign of *Bearn*. *Gaston*, who bore the Title of Captal of *Buch*, adhered to *Henry V*, who made him Knight of the Garter and Earl of *Longueville*. From him sprung the *House* of *Candale*. *Archembald* Lord of *Noailles*, the third Son, was killed on *Montereau*-Bridge with the Duke of *Burgundy*. *Matthew* the fourth Brother married the Heiress of *Cominge*. We shall see hereafter that
a Quarrel

* The Earls of *Foix* (Part of *Gascogne*) were in so high Esteem in the Court of *France*, that they took Place of the Earl of *Vendôme*, though a Prince of the Blood, and lived in State equal to most Kings in Christendom. *Francis Phébus* by marrying the Heiress of *Navarre* added that Kingdom to *Foix* in 1479. And by *Antony* of *Bourbon*, Duke of *Vendôme* marrying *Joan* Heiress of this House, became King of *Navarre*, Earl of *Foix*, and Sovereign of *Bearn*, whose Son *Henry II*. King of *Navarre*, &c. succeeded to the Crown of *France* in 1589, being Grand-father to *Lewis XIV*, late King of *France*.

a Quarrel between him and his Wife was the Occasion of the Country of *Cominge* falling into the Hands of *Charles VII.* *Peter* the youngest of all, was at first a *Franciscan Fryar*, then Bishop of *Lescar*, and at last Cardinal and Legate *a Latere* in *France*, under the Pontificate of *Martin V.* He founded the College of *Foix* at *Tholouse*.

1422.

It appears from hence that the *House of Foix* was very considerable, as well for the extent of its Dominions in the Southern Parts of *France*, as for the Merit of the four Brothers it consisted of. The Neighbourhood of *Guienne* obliged the Earls of *Foix* to keep very fair with the Kings of *England* who were Masters of that Dukedom. *Foix*, *Bearn*, and *Bigorre*, could with Ease be invaded by so powerful Neighbours, and not without Difficulty be assisted by the Kings of *France*. Besides the Capital of *Buch* and the Earl of *Cominge* were Vassals of the King of *England*. An old Quarrel between the *House of Foix* and the Earls of *Armagnac* was a further Inducement to that *House* to continue under the Protection of the *English* and the Duke of *Burgundy*, sworn Enemy of the *Armagnacs*. These Considerations made *Henry V.* as soon as he became Regent of *France*, to give the Government of *Languedoc* to the Earl of *Foix*. He bound the Earl by certain Articles to find a considerable Number of Troops, to keep that Province in Obedience to *Charles VI.* We have already seen that he was outed by the *Dauphin*, and the Earl of *Clermont* put in his Room. Upon the Death of *Henry V.* the Earl of *Foix* renewed the Articles of Agreement with his Successor, who made him Governour again. But it was not in his Power to dispossess the Earl of *Clermont*. Afterwards the Earl of *Foix*, seeing *England* did not observe the Articles, sided with King *Charles*. But in the Beginning of the present Reigns, he and his two Brothers had openly declared for the *English*.

Act. Pub.
X. 2.

On the other Hand, the Houses of *Armagnac* and *Albret*, very powerful in *Guienne*, declared for *Charles VII.* though a little before they had been Time-servers, and made their Peace with *Henry V.*

Of Armagnac and Albret.

1422.
Of the Duke
Of Orleans
and Earl of
Angou-
lême.

Hist of
Charles
VII.

The *House of Orleans* consisted of two Princes, *Charles Duke of Orleans*, and *John Earl of Angoulême* his Brother, both Prisoners in *England*. The first had been there ever since the Battle of *Azincourt* in 1415. The second was given in Hostage to the Duke of *Clarence* in 1412, for Security of the Payment of the *English* Troops, which King *Henry IV* sent to aid the Princes in League against the Duke of *Burgundy*. These two Princes being Prisoners, did as to their Persons neither good nor hurt to either of the Parties; but their strong Towns were in the Disposal of King *Charles*. There are Authors who affirm, that the Duke of *Orleans* had made a Treaty with *Henry V*, whereby in consideration of a great Pension which he paid yearly for his Expence, he had obtained of that Monarch a Neutrality for his City of *Orleans*, and all his other Towns. But this pretended Treaty is a mere Fiction, seeing the Foundation on which it is built, namely the Pension, had never any Existence. The IX and X Volumes of the *Publick Acts of England* are full of Pieces relating to the Duke of *Orleans*; and yet among so great Numbers there is not one that gives the least hint of any such Pension; much less of the pretended Treaty. Besides it is not very likely that *Henry V* should be willing in the Time of his Prosperity, to grant such a Neutrality for Places situated in the Heart of a Kingdom he was undertaking to conquer.

Of the Duke
of Alençon.

John Duke of Alençon about thirteen or fourteen Years old, Son of the Duke of *Alençon* slain in the Battle of *Azincourt*, began to give Tokens of an uncommon Valour and Conduct, which caused him to be looked upon as a very hopeful Prince. He was firmly attached to King *Charles's* Side, as well as *Peter* his Bastard-Brother, who passed for one of the stoutest Warriors in the Kingdom.

Of the Earl
of Eu.

Charles d' Artois, Earl of *Eu*, was Prisoner in *England* ever since the Battle of *Azincourt*. As he was not released till 1434, he made no Figure in *France* in the first Part of this Reign.

Of the Duke
of Bourbon

John Duke of Bourbon, Head of the illustrious House of *Bourbon*, which was divided into several Branches, was Prisoner in *England* since the Year 1415. So that although he

he was a Prince of great Merit, he had no Share in what ^{1422.} passed in *France*. But the Earl of *Clermont* his eldest Son firmly adhered to King *Charles*, and kept for him all the Duke his Father's Towns.

Lewis Earl of *Vendôme*, of the House of *Bourbon*, was ^{Of the Earl of Vendôme.} likewise Prisoner in *England* since the Battle of *Azincourt*. It is true he agreed with *Henry V* about his Ransom, whereof he had even paid some part already. But as he could not pay the rest, he was not yet released. The *French* Authors say, that in 1423 he made his escape in a miraculous Manner, and that in Memory of this Event he instituted an annual *Procession* at *Vendôme*. I do not know the manner of his Escape. But I find in the *Collec-* ^{Act. Pub.} *tion of the Publick Acts*, that in *May* 1423, he was taken ^{X. 289.} out of the *Tower of London* by the King's Order, and delivered to Sir *John Cornwall* who took him Prisoner at ^{p. 297.} the Battle of *Azincourt*; that in *July* of the same Year, he got leave to go to *France*, to provide the rest of the Ransom, that upon Payment of the whole he might have Liberty to go where he pleased. In all likelihood, he satisfied the King in full, for it does not appear that he had any Demands made upon him. Wherefore I do not see what Miracle there could be in his Escape, unless it were his not making an ill use of his *Passport*, in which Case the Miracle would be very inconsiderable. This does not hinder but that he might institute a *Procession* at *Vendôme* in Memory of his eight Years Captivity.

Having spoken of the Princes of the Royal Family of *France*, it will be proper to say a Word or two of the other Lords and Generals in the Service of King *Charles*.

The Earl of *Buchan* a Scotchman, Son of the Regent of ^{The Earl of} *Scotland*, and First-Cousin to King *James I*, was ^{Buchan.} *Constable* of *France*; a Dignity conferred upon him by the *Dauphin*, after the Fight of *Baugé*.

Among the other Generals, the most noted were the ^{Other Ge-} Marshals of *Fayette*, and *Severac*; *Andrew de Laval* Lord of *Loheac*, *John d' Harcourt* Earl of *Aumale*, *John de la Haye* Lord of *Colonge*, *Culant* afterwards High-Admiral, *Aymeri* Viscount of *Narbonne*, *Pothon* of *Xantrailles*, *Ste-*

1422. *phen de la Hire*, surnamed *Vignoles*, *Granville* and some others of an inferior Rank or less Note. To these I add the *Bastard of Orleans*, natural Brother of the Duke of that Name, though as yet he did but begin to appear in the World, because he rendered himself very famous in the History of this Reign.

State of
Charles's
Court.

Mary
Queen of
France.

After having mentioned the Generals, it will be further necessary to say something of the most eminent Persons belonging to the Court of the new King. I have already spoken of the Person and Qualities of King *Charles*. *Mary of Anjou* his Queen was a Princess of exceeding great Beauty, but much more valuable for her extraordinary Merit. Nevertheless, he loved her not as he ought, and as she deserved, being continually drawn aside by other Women, who possessed in his Heart the Place she ought to have held. How grievous soever the King's Coldness to her might be, she bore it with a great deal of Firmness, without the least Murmur or Reproach, hoping at length to gain his Affection by her Patience, Moderation, and dutiful Behaviour. If this Conduct was not capable of inspiring the King with a Tenderness for so accomplished a Spouse, it engrossed at least all his Esteem, and forced him to show it by consulting her commonly in his most important Affairs.

The Queen
of Sicily.

Violante of Arragon, Queen of *Sicily* and Mother of the Queen, was generally at the Court of *Charles*, where her Merit and Capacity gained her great Credit.

Tannegui
du Chatel.

Tannegui du Châtel was the King's chief Favourite. It was he that first struck the late Duke of *Burgundy* on *Montereau-Bridge*. There was no question but as he was the foremost in the Execution, so he had been the Principal in advising that detestable Treachery. However all the *French* Writers will have him pass for a very honest Man, I do not know how that Character can be reconciled with that Deed, which let them say what they please, was but too much premeditated.

Louvet.

Louvet President of *Provence* was next in the King's Favour. He had the Management of the *Finances*. As he was very greedy, and exceeding ambitious, he generally pre-

preferred his own to his Master's Interest. It said he was one of the Advisers of the Duke of *Burgundy's* Murder. On the other Hand, the Duke of *Bretagne* looked upon this *Minister*, as well as *d'Avangour* another of *Charles's* Courtiers, as the chief Authors of the *Pontievrian* Conspiracy, because they had prevailed with the *Dauphin* to approve it. 1422.

La Trimonille, of a very antient Family, was very much in the King's Good-Graces, though not so much as *Dumouille*. *Châtel* and *Louvet*. He was a Lord of great Ambition, who notwithstanding his High-Birth, regularly made his Court to the Favourites, in order to increase his Credit.

De Giac and the *Camus of Beau-lieu*, Creatures of *Louvet*, were considerable at Court, by Reason of their Patrons Interest. *De Giac* and *Beau-lieu*.

These were the most noted Persons of *Charles's* Court, which usually was not very numerous. Most of the Princes of the Blood were Prisoners in *England*, and the other Great Men found it more for their Advantage to be in the Army, the King's Circumstances not affording them any Great Prospect at Court.

I shall now consider the chief Managers of the Publick Affairs of the *English*, both at Court and in the Army. *The English Lords*.

John Duke of Bedford Regent of *France* under the young King his Nephew, was the most accomplished Prince then in *Europe*: Wise, Judicious, of great Valour, Solidity and Penetration, Master of his Passions, and of a *Genius* superior to all employed by him; he seemed born for a Throne, though *Providence* had placed him in the Class of Subjects. To all these Qualities he added a majestick Stateliness, which became his Birth and the high Rank he held in *France* and *England*. But this he never carried beyond what was necessary to command a due Respect and Regard for his Person and Authority. In short, to sum up his Character in a Word he was perfectly like the late King his Brother, and in all his Actions took him for his Pattern. He had with him in *France* the Earls of *Warwick*, *Salisbury*, *Arundel*, the Duke of *Somerset*, *Falstaff*, *Talbot*, and many others, all eminent for their Valour and Experience in the Art of War. *The French* Authors who have writ the Life *English Generals*.

1422. Life of *Charles VII*, seldom speak of these Generals without an honourable *Epithet*. For my Part I shall content my self with barely mentioning these illustrious *Englishmen*. Their Names became so famous in the History of those Days, that all the Encomiums I can bestow on them, would add nothing to their Glory and Reputation.

Generals of
the Duke of
Burgundy.

The Duke of *Burgundy* had at the same Time three Generals, whom I shall rank among the *English*, because they were in the Service of the same Prince. Their Actions well deserve that honourable mention should be made of them.

Earl of
Ligny.

The first was *John de Luxemburg* Earl of *Ligny*, Son of *Valeran de Luxemburg* Constable of *France*. This General signalized himself during the whole War.

Lisle-Adam.

Lisle-Adam, Marshal of *France*, was a bold and enterprizing Warrior, and withal capable of Managing the most difficult Undertaking. It was he that in 1419 made the Duke of *Burgundy* Master of *Paris*. After that his too great Haughtiness causing him to incur the Displeasure of *Henry V*, he was committed to the *Bastile*, from whence the Duke of *Bedford* had lately freed him at the Instance of the Duke of *Burgundy*.

Toulou-
geon.

Toulougeon, commonly called Marshal of *Burgundy*, was in high Esteem with the Duke his Master, on the Score of his Valour and Abilities.

The Court of
England.

I must now return to *England*, and briefly mention some of the Princes and Great Men who had the largest Share in the Administration of the young King's Affairs.

Duke of
Gloucester

Humphrey Duke of *Gloucester*, younger Brother of the Duke of *Bedford*, was a Prince equally qualified for the Field and the Cabinet. His noble Endowments, set off by a very extensive Knowledge of the *Sciences*, would have put him upon an equal Foot with the Duke his Brother, had he been more Master of his Passions, or less ambitious and haughty. I shall have frequent Occasion hereafter to make known more fully the Character of this Prince.

The Princes
of Lancas-
ter.

The Princes of the *House of Lancaster*, legitimated by the Name of *Beaufort*, held the next Rank to the Duke of *Gloucester*. *Thomas Beaufort* Duke of *Exeter*, and *Henry*
his

his Brother Bishop of *Winchester*, were Sons of *John of Gaunt* and *Catharine Roet* his third Wife. *John* Earl of *Somerset* their elder Brother was dead, and had left four Sons, of whom *Henry* the eldest bore the Title of *Earl of Somerset*. Of the other three, *Thomas*, *John*, and *Edmund*, the last only was at Court, the other two being Prisoners in *France*.

1422.

Richard Duke of *York*, Son of *Richard* Earl of *Cambridge* Duke of beheaded at *Southampton* in 1415, and Grandson of *Edmund de Langley* Duke of *York*, fourth Son of *Edward III*, was the only Male-Issue of this Family. He was very young at the Time I am speaking of, but I shall often have occasion to mention him before this Reign is over.

Humphrey Earl of *Strafford* was Son of *Ann* of *Gloucester* Other Daughter of the unfortunate Duke of *Gloucester*, whom *Richard II* his Nephew caused to be strangled at *Calais*. Lords.

Henry Earl of *Essex*, Half-Brother of the Earl of *Stafford* had married *Isabella* Sister of the young Duke of *York*.

Ralph Neville Earl of *Westmorland* was allied to the Royal Family by his Marriage with *Joan Beaufort* Sister of the Duke of *Exeter* and Bishop of *Winchester*.

Thomas Courtney Earl of *Devonshire*, had for Wife a Sister of the Duke of *Somerset*.

Henry Talbot had married a Sister of the Earl of *Essex* before-mentioned.

Henry Holland Earl of *Huntington*, descended from a Half Sister of *Richard II*, was Prisoner in *France* since the Battle of *Baugé*, wherein the Duke of *Clarence* was slain.

Henry Percy Earl of *Northumberland* and *John Fitz-Alan* Earl of *Arundel* had taken to Wife a Princess of the House of *March*.

Nothing more remains, in order to give a general Knowledge of the Affairs of the two contending Kings, but to see how some foreign Princes stood affected upon their Account.

How the Princes of Europe stood affected with regard to the two Kings.

It is pretty strange, that during this long War, which lasted thirty-eight Years, no Prince in *Europe* would have any Concern in it. Immediately after the Peace of *Troye*, *Henry*

1422. *Henry V* sent Ambassadors to several Courts to make Alliances in order to render himself so much superior to the *Dauphin*, that it might be out of his Power to make any Resistance. But we do not find that he succeeded in his Purpose. If he made Alliances with some Princes, they were so worded, that they did not oblige them to have any Thing to do with the Wars in *France*. So that he reaped but little Advantage from thence.

The Emperor.

The Emperor *Sigismund* might by Virtue of his League with *Henry V* have assisted his Son. But he was himself embroiled in Troubles on the Score of Religion in *Bohemia*, which wholly engrossed him. The rest of the *German* Princes were unconcerned at what passed in *France*. They were not sorry to see the *English* and *French* unable, by Reason of their Dissention, to disturb their Neighbours.

Italy.

All *Italy* stood Neuter. The Duke of *Milan* alone inclined to King *Charles's* Side, but hitherto he had sent him no Supplies.

Spain.

Castile, *Aragon*, and *Portugal* were at Peace, or in Truce with the two Rival Kings, and assisted neither. Their Policy was to let them battle one another in order to Side afterwards with the Conqueror.

Duke of Lorrain

The Duke of *Lorrain* was inclined to King *Charles* on the Score of the Alliance between their Families. But he durst not aid him, for fear of drawing the War into his Country.

Among all the neighbouring Princes of *France*, *Amadeus*, first Duke of *Savoy*, and *Lewis de Châlon* Prince of *Orange*, were those on whom the Eyes of both Parties were chiefly fixt by Reason of the Diversions which it was in their Power to make in *Provence* and *Dauphiné*. Mean while these two Princes stood Neuter as yet, pleased with being courted by both Sides. It was however no hard Matter to see that they leaned towards the *English*, on account of the Duke of *Burgundy*, the Prince of *Orange* being his Nephew, and the Duke of *Savoy* his Vassal.

The Low-Countries.

As for the Neighbours of *England*, there were none but the Princes of the *Low-Countries* and the *Scots*, that could be concerned in the War to any great Purpose, either for

or against either of the two Kings. The Duke of *Burgundy* possessed *Flanders* and *Artois*. *John of Burgundy* his first Cousin, held *Brabant* and the Earldom of *Limbourg*. Moreover, by his Marriage with *Faquelina* of *Bavaria*, Daughter of the late Earl of *Hainault*, he had acquired the Sovereignty of *Hainault*, *Holland*, *Zeland* and *Friseland*. The first of these two Princes was firmly united with the *English*, and the other took care how he declared against them, for fear of depriving his Subjects of the Benefit of trading with *England*, which was very great.

As for the *Scots*, the War in *France* was not to them an *Scotland*. indifferent Thing. It is certain, their Interest required that they should to the utmost of their Power endeavour to put a Stop to the Progress of the *English* in that Kingdom. Besides their old Alliance whereby they were obliged to assist the *French*, it was easy for them to perceive that it could not but be very dangerous to their *State*, to suffer the King of *England* to grow so very powerful. And yet the private Interest of the Regent had hindered them from taking the Course which best squared with the Good of their Country, till at length they sent an Aid of Seven Thousand Men to the *Dauphin*. Since that time, being grown more and more sensible of their Error, in permitting the *English* to become Masters of *France*, they had resolved to send thither a more powerful Supply. But the Duke of *Albany* dying in the mean Time, and *Mordac* his eldest Son, a Prince of a narrow *Genius*, having succeeded him in the Regency, intestine Troubles arose which prevented the *Scots* from executing their Purpose. So that till the Death of *Henry V.* they had done nothing in that Respect, and King *James* was returned to *England* Prisoner as before.

Here I shall end this Digression, which will not appear needless, when we come to see the Relation it bears to the Events hereafter mentioned. And thus having laid down a general Plan of the Affairs of the two Kings, it is time to resume the Thread of our History.

The Parliament met on the 9th of *November*, pursuant to the Summons. The Duke of *Gloucester* by a Patent under
 V O L. V. F f der

The Par-
liament
meets.

1422. der the *Great Seal*, was commissioned to hold it in the King's Name, according to the usual Practice, when the Sovereign is not in a Condition to be present in Person. The first Thing the Parliament did was to settle the Government during the King's Minority. They nominated the Members of the Council, filled the Offices of the Crown, and gave the *Great Seal* to the Bishop of *Durham*, and not to the Bishop of *Winchester*, as some affirm. To pursue the Scheme which had been formed, it was necessary to appoint a *Protector*, who should take upon him the Administration of the publick Affairs during the Minority. *Henry V.* had ordered as he lay a dying, that this high Dignity should be conferred on the Duke of *Gloucester* his Brother. But this could not be done without great Injury to the Duke of *Bedford*, who was the eldest of the two Brothers, the first Person in the Kingdom next the King, and Heir-apparent of the Crown as long as *Henry* should be without Issue. By this Means he would have been below the Duke of *Gloucester* his younger Brother. It is true, he was Regent of *France*: But it was very possible he might return to *England* during a Minority which was to last so many Years. Wherefore they were obliged to find out some Expedient to perform the deceased King's Will, without derogating from the Right of the elder Brother. After a serious Debate, the Parliament nominated the Duke of *Bedford* *Protector of England, Defender of the Church, and first Counsellor to the King*. But a Clause was added, that this Prince should only exercise this Office whilst he was in the Kingdom, and have nothing to do with the Government in his Absence. At the same time the *Protectorship* was likewise conferred on the Duke of *Gloucester*, with Power to act only in the Absence of the Duke of *Bedford* his Brother, who upon his Return to *England* was to be acknowledged for sole Protector. The Protector's Salary was settled at Eight Thousand Marks a Year.

The Privy-Council settled.

The Duke of Bedford is made Protector;

and in his Absence the Duke of Gloucester.

Act Pub. X. 261. p. 268.

Jealousy of the Council a-

It has been already observed, that the Duke of *Gloucester* had not so great a Command of his Passions as the Duke of *Bedford* his Brother. He could but ill brook any Opposition

tion to his Will. For this Reason the Privy-Council were always upon their Guard to hinder him from assuming a greater Authority than his Station entitled him to. As they held not their Places of Him but of the Parliament, they were not so much afraid of displeasing him, knowing it was not in his Power to turn them out. And therefore, in the Council it self there was a sort of Confederacy against him, at the Head of which was the Bishop of *Winchester* his Uncle. The Opposition of the Bishop against the *Protector*, ended at length in a Quarrel; the sad Effects whereof we shall have Occasion to mention in the Sequel of this Reign.

1422.
gainst the
Duke of
Glou-
cester.

Having settled all Matters relating to the *Protectorship*, the Parliament appointed Governors to take care of the King's Person and Education. These were *Thomas Beauford* Duke of *Exeter*, and *Henry* his Brother, Bishop of *Winchester*, both Great-Uncles to the King. I know not the Qualities of the Duke of *Exeter*, having met with no Historian that gives us his Character*.

Governor
appointed
for the
King.

As for the Bishop of *Winchester*, he was a Prince cut out for the *World* and a *Court* rather than for the *Church*. However, he is placed by some in the Class of the Learned of those Days. Ever since he was made Bishop of *Winchester* in 1405, his main Business was to heap up Riches; wherein he had succeeded so well, that he was reckoned the wealthiest of all the *English* Nobles. *Henry V.* his Nephew had some Regard for him: but however was apprehensive of his intriguing Temper. Hence it was that he was against the Pope's making him a *Cardinal*, for fear that Dignity might afford him too much room to exercise his Talents. The Truth is, he was a Man of Sense, and well-skilled in all the Means *Human Prudence* suggests to the Ambitious in order to compass their Ends. His Birth, Parts, Riches, and Office of Governor to the King, gave him great Credit in the Council, and of Course in all the rest of the Kingdom. In a word, he knew how to ma-

Character
of the Bi-
shop of
Winches-
ter.

* He was a great General, as appears by his Defense of *Harfleur*, p. 141.

1422.
jealousy
between
the Duke
of Glou-
cester and
Bishop of
Winches-
ter.

nage Matters so well, that he had a better Interest than the Duke of *Gloucester* his Nephew, though Protector, and ruined him entirely. The Occasion of their Quarrel is not fully known. Some say the Bishop, angry that the Duke of *Gloucester* was preferred before him in the Government of the Kingdom, which he would rather have had than That of the King, never ceased plotting how to supplant him. Others on the contrary affirm, that the Duke of *Gloucester* hated him only because he always found him ready to oppose his assuming too great an Authority as Protector, which might in the End prove fatal to their common Master.

Few war-
like Ex-
ploits du-
ring the
rest of the
Year,
1422.

Whilst the Courts of the two new Kings were equally busied in Affairs which would admit of no Delay, the War went on but faintly in *France*. Besides, the Season permitted not, that after the Death of *Charles VI.* which happened on the 21st of *October*, great Armies should keep the Field. From that time therefore to the End of the Year 1422, the Troops of the two Kings took some rest in order to prepare to renew the War. There is nothing therefore remarkable in this Interval, but the taking of *St. Valery*, a Place of great Importance, which was surrendered to the *English* pursuant to a Capitulation made some Months before, and of *Bussi* in the Earldom of *Guise*, by the Earl of *Ligny*, the Duke of *Burgundy's* General. On the other Hand, *James de Harcourt* became Master of *La Rue* in *Picardy*, and *La Hire* of *Vitry* in *Champagne*.

1423.

The Duke of *Bedford's* Design, according to the Scheme laid down by the late King his Brother, was to reduce all the Towns *Charles* had still left in the *Isle of France* and the adjoining Provinces, that he might afterwards attack him beyond the *Loire*. It was the more necessary to proceed in this Manner, because, whilst *Charles* held any Towns in the Country about *Paris*, the *English* durst not stir from the Metropolis without leaving behind a very strong Garrison, which would very much weaken their Army. At the Time the Regent was preparing to execute this Design, he received the ill News that *Granville*, one of *King Charles's* Captains, had taken *Meulan* by Storm, the

Meulan
taken by
Storm by
the French.

4th of *January*. The Loss of this Town vexed him heartily, as well because it retarded the Execution of his Projects, as by reason of its Neighbourhood to *Paris*, it not lying about six Leagues off. Besides, the taking of a Place just under his Nose, was a sort of Affront he could hardly brook: And therefore he determined to open the Campaign with the Siege of *Meulan*.

1413.

Shortly after King *Charles's* Troops took likewise *La Ferte-Milon*, a little Town lying between *Meaux* and *Soissons*. But the Castle making a brave Resistance, the Marshal *de L'isle-Adam* had time to come to their Relief, and drive the *French* out of the Town.

They take also la Ferte Milon.

In the Beginning of *February* the Regent went in Person and laid Siege to *Meulan*. As it was King *Charles's* Interest to keep up the War in the *Isle of France*, and the Neighbouring Provinces, he ordered the Earl of *Aumale* to go and join *Stuart*, who commanded the *Scotch* Troops, and march with him to the Relief of that Town. The *French* give *Stuart* the Title of *Constable of Scotland*; but it does not appear that he was stiled so by the Historians of his own Nation. I imagine the Mistake of the *French* sprung from their Ignorance of the *English* and *Scotch* Tongue, wherein the Title of *Constable* may be given to every Leader or Commander in chief of a Body of Troops, without his being for all that *Constable of the Kingdom*. However, the Earl of *Buchan* being then in *Scotland*, *Stuart* commanded the auxiliary Troops of that Kingdom. The Two Generals were actually joined. But a Contest arising about the Command, they parted again without doing any thing. *Granville* hearing of it, capitulated the 2d of *March*. The Capitulation ran, that such of the Besieged as had any Castles in their Hands, were to yield them up to the Regent. Pursuant to this Agreement, the Regent took Possession of *Marcoussi*, *Montlery*, and several other Places.

The Regent besieges Meulan,

which capitulates.

Though these Towns are of little Consequence at this Day, yet were they then of great Importance, chiefly on account of their lying near *Paris*, and keeping the *English* at a Distance from the *Loire*, which was of great Advantage

1423. vantage to King *Charles*. For this Reason he managed it so, that his Adherents fortified themselves in those Parts, in all the Towns and Castles which were capable of making any Resistance, to the End he might continue the War there. This was the very Thing that had induced the Regent to form the Project of clearing the *Isle of France* of all these Garrisons. However, he would not have opened the Campaign so early, had not the Loss of *Menlan* obliged him to it. He had a Design in his Head of much greater Moment, which he put in Execution immediately after the retaking of that Place.

Interview
of the
Dukes of
Bedford,
Burgundy,
Bretagne,
and Earl of
Richmond
at Amiens.
April.
Act. Pub.
X. 280.
They sign a
League a-
gainst King
Charles.

Marriages.

I have already observed, that the Duke of *Bretagne* had made some Advances towards swearing the *Peace of Troye*, but that the Death of *Henry V.* had broke off the Negotiation. The Duke of *Bedford* perceiving of what Consequence it was to the King his Nephew, to gain this Prince to his Interest, had spent the whole Winter in treating about an Alliance with him, by the Mediation of the Duke of *Burgundy*. This Negotiation having succeeded to his Wish, he came to *Amiens*, where he met the Duke of *Burgundy* and the Duke of *Bretagne*, with the Earl of *Richmond* his Brother. According to the Plan they had formed before, they signed a Defensive and Offensive League against King *Charles*. To render their Union the more firm, they concluded two Matches; namely, between the Duke of *Bedford* and *Ann*, fifth Sister of the Duke of *Burgundy*, and between the Earl of *Richmond* and *Margaret*, eldest Sister of the same Duke, and Widow of *Lewis the Dauphin*, who died in 1415. As the Earl of *Richmond* had been the Means of engaging the Duke of *Bretagne* in this Alliance, it was but reasonable the Earl should find his Account in it. The young Earl having an extraordinary Opinion of his own Merit, his Vanity was agreeably flattered by this Marriage. The Truth is, it was no small Honour to him to espouse a Sister of the Duke of *Burgundy*, Widow to a *Dauphin* of *France*. But to obtain the Prince's Consent, he was forced to agree, that according to the Custom of *England* she should keep the Title of *Dauphine's*, because she absolutely refused to take that

that of *Countess of Richmond*, which would have given her a Rank below what she had before. The Treaty between these Princes was concluded *April* the 8th.

1423.

Soon after the Duke of *Bedford* went to *Troye*, where he consummated his Marriage. An Historian says, that the Duke of *Burgundy* had promised him the Earldom of *Artois*, in case he died without Male-Issue; but there was no Occasion to perform this Engagement. In conducting his Bride to *Paris*, the Regent stayed some Time in *Campagne*, to form the Siege of *Pont-Sur-Seine*, a small Town there, which was carried by Storm. After that, he came to *Paris*, and took up his Lodging in the *Hôtel des Tournelles*, which he had taken care to repair and furnish in a splendid Manner.

The Regent consummates his Marriage. Montrelet.

Since the Beginning of the Year, the Earl of *Salisbury* had been invested with the Government of *Champagne* and *Brie*, and had received Orders from the Regent to clear these two Provinces of King *Charles's* Garrisons. This General having taken the Field in *April*, went and besieged, or rather blockaded *Montaigu*, an exceeding strong Castle, seated upon a narrow Piece of Land belonging to the Province of *Burgundy*, but running into *Champagne*. There were but Sixcore Men in the Castle, and yet by reason of its Situation it was almost impregnable. The Earl of *Salisbury* having formed the Blockade, left the Earl of *Suffolk* there with some Troops, and marched himself to other Conquests. In *June* he became Master of *Vertus*, *Sezanne*, *Epernay*, and several other Places.

The Earl of Salisbury besieges Montaigu. April.

He leaves the Siege to the Earl of Suffolk.

Mean while, King *Charles*, to whom the keeping of the Towns in those Quarters was of great Consequence, ordered *Tannegui de Châtel* to go and relieve *Montaigu*. The Earl of *Salisbury*, who had left but few Men before that Castle, fearing they might be worsted, posted immediately to their Assistance. He made such speed, that *Tannegui du Châtel*, who was already very far advanced, finding he was not a Match for the *English*, was obliged to retire into *Burgundy*, where the *French* had lately surprized *Mâcon* and *Crevant*, in the two utmost Borders of that Province. *Salisbury*

Tannegui attempts to relieve Montaigu.

Salisbury

1423.
Salisbury
besieges
Crevant.
Charles

prepares to
relieve it.

Crevant is
taken.

Orsay taken
by the
English.

The French
besiege
Crevant.

Salisbury followed, but not being able to overtake him, he resolved to besiege *Crevant*, a strong Place upon the *Yonne*, three Leagues above *Auxerre*.

Charles had no sooner received News of this, but he ordered *Stuart*, who had just been reinforced by fresh Supplies from *Scotland*, to draw some Troops out of the neighbouring Garrisons, and go and join *du Châtel*, in order to attempt the Relief of *Crevant*. All these Forces together made a Body of Ten Thousand Men, whereof by order of the King, the Marshal *de Severac* went and took the Command. But as it required some Time before they could be joined in one Body, *Salisbury* had leisure enough to make himself Master of the Place. After which, not knowing yet the Designs of the *French*, he went and joined *Suffolk* before *Montaignu*.

Whilst these Things were doing in *Burgundy*, the Duke of *Bedford* laid Siege to *Orsay*, a small Place between *Paris* and *Montlery*. The Garrison holding out six Weeks, and not surrendering but at Discretion, he resolved to make them an Example, for a Terror to the rest of the little Towns. All the Officers and Soldiers were carried away Prisoners to *Paris*, and ordered to be put to Death. But luckily for them, the Dutchess of *Bedford* meeting them as they were going to the Place of Execution, stopped the Proceedings and got their Pardon.

In the mean Time, the *French* Army which had been drawn together in *Auxerrois*, marched towards *Crevant*, which they had not been able to relieve, and laid Siege to it. The Army was commanded by Marshal *de Severac*, who had under him *du Châtel*, *Stuart*, *Ventadour*, and some other Officers of note. The Dutchess Dowager of *Burgundy*, who was then at *Dijon*, sent immediately to the Marshal *Toulangeon* and all the *Burgundian* Lords and Nobles to go and try to relieve *Crevant*. At the same Time she desired the Earl of *Salisbury* to join her Generals in order to raise the Siege. *Salisbury* was very sensible how necessary it was to comply with the Request of the Dutchess, and therefore leaving Part of his Troops before *Montaignu*, the Garrison whereof was reduced to Twenty Men, he march-

ed

ed to *Auxerre* and joined the *Burgundians*. Next day they went together towards *Crevant*. They were not in all above six Thousand Men; but however some of the best Soldiers then in *Europe*. The Besiegers having had intelligence of their Coming, raised the Siege in order to go and meet them, and posted themselves at some Distance from *Crevant* upon a Hill, where it was very difficult to break through them. The Resolution of the *French* Generals surprized the *English* and *Burgundians*, who seeing no Prospect of attacking them in that Post, altered their Rout, and as if they had some other Design, went and passed the *Tonne* at *Cologne-le-Vimeux*, with Intent to repass the same River at some other Place, in order to proceed to *Crevant*. The *French* finding that by this March the Station they had taken on the Hill was become useless, came down and posted themselves by the River side in order to defend the Pass. The two Armies stood above three Hours facing one another with the River between them. At length a Body of *English* having made themselves Masters of a certain Bridge, withstood the Efforts of the *French* Army with uncommon Bravery, and gave the rest of the Forces Time to come to their Succour. This Action, which was one of the boldest, was performed with that Valour, Order, and Conduct, that it was not possible for the *French* to beat back these Troops from the Bridge. As soon as ever all the *English* and *Burgundians* were got over, they fell upon their Enemies so vigorously that they put them to Rout. The Marshal *de Severac* was blamed for retiring too soon, and leaving *Stuart* engaged in the Battle with his *Scotch* Troops. There were slain on the Spot about five Hundred, most of them *Scots*. As many more were made Prisoners, among whom were *Stuart* and *Xaintrailles*, with forty other Officers of note.

1423.

*The Battle
of Crevant,
where the
French are
worsted.*

The Loss the *French* sustained on this Occasion rendering them unable to keep the Field before a victorious Army, the Earl of *Salisbury* returned to the Blockade of *Montaignu*. A few Days after his Arrival, the Place capitulated, and he demolished the Fortifications. Then as he was apprehensive of no Opposition from the *French*, he divided his Ar-

*Mâcon and
other Places
taken by
the English.*

1423. my with the Earl of *Suffolk*, who took *Mâcon* whilst the Earl of *Salisbury* finished the Conquest of *Champagne*. After that *Salisbury* entered the *Isle of France*, and took *Coucy* with some other Castles.

Siege and
Capitulati-
on of Cro-
toy.
Monstre-
let.

In the mean Time, the Regent had laid Siege to *Crotoy*, a Town in *Picardy*, situated upon the *Somme* overgainst *St. Valere*. *Ralph Boteler* had the Management of the Siege, which took him up till *October*. At last *James d' Harcourt*, Governour of the Town, agreed to yield it up on the 1st of *March* next, if not relieved by that Time. This sort of Capitulation was very common in those Days. On the Day fixed for the Relief or Surrender of the Place, the Besiegers drew up in order of Battle just under the Walls, expecting their Enemies. If no Army appeared that Day to give them Battle, the Place was surrendered according to the Capitulation. Though the Governour of *Crotoy* had given Time enough to prepare for his Relief, *Charles* was not in a condition to attempt it, so the Town was surrendered to the Duke of *Bedford*.

The Battle of *Crevant* was the more prejudicial to *Charles's* Affairs, as it made him lose a great many Officers of Distinction, some whereof were slain, and the rest Prisoners in the Hands of the *English* or *Burgundians*. Among the Prisoners, *Xaintrailles* was the Person for whom the King was most concerned, knowing him to be one of the bravest Officers in the Kingdom, and the most capable of doing him Service. Though he had no great Stock of Money, he sent him however enough to pay his Ransom. *Xaintrailles* very thankfully received this Favour, and to give the King sensible Marks of his Gratitude, presently after his being released, he found Means to take *Ham* and *Guise* by Surprise. At the same Time *La Hire* or *Vignoles* did the like by *Compiègne*.

Charles
ransoms
Xaintrailles.
Ham,
Guise, and
*Com-
piègne*
taken by
Surprise.
They are
retaken.

The Loss of these Places gave the Regent no small Uneasiness, as it obliged him to keep near *Paris*, in spite of the Projects he had formed. As he could not execute his Designs till the *French* were drove out of the Northern Provinces, he gave orders to have the three Towns just taken by Surprise, to be besieged all at once. If a Man should
stay

stay to relate the Particulars of All the Sieges on both Sides during this War, he would be insensibly led into a Thousand Circumstances which few People would think worth Notice. The best way will be to keep to general Matters, and relate only in two Words the Beginnings and Issues of the Sieges.

The Regent's Design being, as I was saying, to retake these three Places, the Earl of *Ligny* invested *Ham*, and the Marshal de *l'isle-Adam* besieged *Compiègne*. But *l'isle-Adam* falling into an Ambush laid for him by *La Hire*, lost three hundred of his Men. Nevertheless he constrained his Enemy to keep within the Walls. After *Ligny* had taken *Ham*, he went and invested *Guise*. *Xaintrailles* who commanded in that Place, perceiving, with the few Soldiers he had, he should be able to make but a faint Resistance, went away in quest of a Supply. But instead of succeeding in his Design, he fell himself into the Hands of the *Burgundians*, and *Guise* surrendered immediately. Then *Ligny* went and joined *l'isle-Adam* before *Compiègne*, and *la Hire* was forced at length to capitulate. So all the Advantage *Charles* got by taking these three Places, was the making the Regent lose Time. Which however was no small Matter, considering the Posture of his Affairs. Since the

Duke of *Bretagne* had sided with the *English*, *Charles* had no Body left in *France* able to support him. And this made him resolve upon applying to foreign Princes for Aid. All the Prospect he could have was from *Philip-Maria Visconti* Duke of *Milan*, and from the *Scots*. *Philip* was Uncle to the Duke of *Orleans*, and consequently a Friend to the *House of Valois*. His Affairs being then in a good Situation, he sent King *Charles* an Aid of a Thousand Men at Arms, and five Hundred Lances, just at the Time when the loss of the Battle of *Crevant* had made him despair of being able to keep the Field. These Troops being arrived on the Borders of *France*, *Grolee* Governour of *Lyonnois*, and *Culant* lately made Admiral, went to receive them. As they were about to enter *Banajolois* the Governour of *la Bussiere* sent the Generals Word, that he was upon a Negotiation with *Toulangeon* Marshal of *Burgundy*, to

Charles receives an Aid from the Duke of Milan.

1423.

Toulougeon made Prisoner.

Battle of Gravelle, where the English are worsted.

surrender the Town to him, and as the Marshal knew nothing of their coming, it would be easy to surprize him when he should come to take Possession. This Stratagem was executed with such Secrecy, that *Toulougeon* entering *la Bussiere* with seven Hundred Men, was made Prisoner with all he had brought with him. The Duke his Master exchanged him afterwards for *Stuart* taken at *Crevant*.

This little Advantage was not capable of making King *Charles* amends for all his Losses. But shortly after he had a fresh Occasion of Joy, upon receiving News that a Body of *English* Troops had been defeated in *Main* with great Loss. *John de la Pole* Brother of the Earl of *Sussex* knowing the *French* had no Army in the Field, marched out of *Normandy* with a Body of Troops drawn out of several Garrisons into *Anjou*, where he burnt the Suburbs of *Angers*. After that he retired with a Booty of twelve Thousand Head of Cattle, which he had picked up in his Incurfion. Whilst he was busied in this Expedition, the Earl of *Aumale* Governour of *Anjou* drew some Troops together to stop his Progress. The young Duke of *Alenfon*, *Lobeac*, *Conlonge*, the Bastard of *Alenfon*, and several others, having joined him with what Troops they could muster up, he overtook the *English* at *Gravelle* in *Maine*. *Pole* perceiving it was impossible to carry off his Booty without fighting, drew up his Troops, and having made a sort of Intrenchment with his Carriages in his Front, he received the Charge of the *French* with great Resolution. But whilst his Men were fighting courageously, a Detachment of the Enemy attacking them in the Rear, it was not possible for them to defend themselves before and behind. After an obstinate Resistance they were at length defeated with loss of fourteen Hundred Men and all their Booty. *Pole* himself was taken Prisoner. *Charles's* Flatterers would fain have made him believe that he had his Revenge for the Business of *Crevant*. But there was a wide Difference between these two Actions with respect to the Consequence. The Battle of *Gravelle* did no manner of

of Damage to the *English*, whereas that of *Crevant* had almost ruined *Charles's* Affairs. 1423.

This Success however served to raise his Hopes, especially when it was backed with the News of the Arrival of five Thousand Men brought to him from *Scotland* by the Earl of *Buchan*. This Lord had returned into his own Country to take Care of the Interest of his new Master, to whom he was entirely devoted. The Great Men of *Scotland* were very much inclined the same Way. The new Regent being a Prince of no great Parts or Credit, it was no hard Matter for the Earl his Brother to do King *Charles* Service. By his Care and Pains he had procured an Aid of five Thousand Men, commanded by *Archibald* Earl of *Dowglas* his Father-in-law. *Dowglas* was a Lord of great Repute in his own Country, on account of his Qualities, Estate, and Alliances, but still more considerable on the Score of his Merit and Experience in Military Affairs. At *Rochel* he landed his Troops, which could never come in a better Time. *Charles* pleaded, as we may imagine, to see these Supplies, loaded the principal *Scotch* Officers with Honours, Caresses, and Favours. He had already conferred on the Earl of *Buchan* the highest Military Post, to which he could make no addition. *Dowglas* was created Duke of *Touraine*. *Stuart* was made Baron of *Aubigni*, and afterwards Earl of *Evreux*, with License to quarter his Arms with those of *France*. To give the *Scots* a farther Mark of his Esteem and Confidence, *Charles* chose out of them a *Company of Guards*, which in Process of Time was increased to a whole *Regiment*. In short, he omitted nothing that could help to gain him the Affections of the *Scots*, to the end he might engage them to send him greater Supplies, or make a powerful *Diversion* in *England*. Charles has Aid from Scotland. He caresses the Scots.

Thus *Charles's* Affairs began to be in a better Way by the Succours of the *Scots* and the Duke of *Milan*, which enabled him to make Head against his Enemies. His Joy at the Arrival of these Troops, was preceded by the Satisfaction of having a Son born on the 4th of *July* the same Year. He gave the young Prince the Name of *Lewis*, with the Title of *Dauphin*. Birth of Prince Lewis.

Besides

1423.
The Earl of
Richmond
quarrels
with the
Duke of
Bedford.

Besides these lucky Turns which gave new Life to King *Charles*, an Event was preparing in his Favour, which was no less proper to restore his Affairs: I mean the Earl of *Richmond's* changing Sides, who drew after him the Duke of *Bretagne*. *Richmond* having consummated his Marriage at *Dijon*, where the Duke of *Burgundy* came with the *Dauphiness* his Sister, went and paid a Visit to the Duke of *Bedford* at *Paris*. During his stay there, he frequently hinted to the Duke, that he was extremely desirous of commanding the *English* Army, to which he offered to join a considerable Body of the Duke his Brother's Troops. But the Regent did not think proper to set at the Head of his Army a young foreign Prince who had never commanded in Chief, nor been in the Service since the Battle of *Azin-court*. The Earl of *Richmond* being of a very haughty Temper, and having a lofty Opinion of himself, could not brook this Refusal. He considered it as a high Affront, and from that Time meditated Revenge. We shall see hereafter how fully he executed his Purpose.

Truce for
Burgundy
and Lyon-
nois.

Shortly after *Charles* and the Duke of *Burgundy* made a Truce for *Lyonnois* and *Burgundy*. This Truce was absolutely necessary for these two Provinces as well as for the Duke of *Savoy*, by whose Means it was brought about. His Subjects and the Inhabitants of *Burgundy* and *Lyonnois* not being able to live without trading together, the War was very detrimental to these two Provinces.

Affairs of
England.
Act. Pub.
X. 282.
Earl of
March Go-
vernour of
Ireland.

Whilst *France* was the Seat of the War, *England* enjoyed a profound Tranquillity, by the good Order that had been established in the Government. In the Month of *May*, *Edmund Mortimer* Earl of *March*, was made Governour of *Ireland* with a very extensive Authority. Policy required that during the King's Minority, this Prince should be at a Distance from the Kingdom; on account of his Right to the Crown. Not that he had given any Occasion to have his Conduct called in Question. But it was not impossible that even without his Consent, he might prove the Ground of Commotions, which the Wisdom of the Council was willing to prevent. He did not set out however till *February* or *March* the next Year.

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The Parliament which met on the 20th of *October*,^{1423.} granted the King a *Subsidy* * for the Support of the War in *France*, where King *Charles* still kept his Ground, notwithstanding the great Disproportion between his and his Rival's Forces. *A Subsidy granted*

I have already observed that King *Charles* made very much of the *Scots*, and that the Nation began to follow Maxims altogether different from those they had pursued during the Regency of the Duke of *Albany*. The Duke of *Gloucester* and the Council of *England*, perceiving this Alteration, which might prove extremely prejudicial to the King's Affairs, thought it necessary to countermine the Designs of *Charles*, by Means of the King of *Scotland* Prisoner in *England* ever since 1408. To that Purpose they resolved to set him at Liberty, upon such Terms as should make him a fast Friend to *England*. This was in Truth the only Way to stop the Career of the *Scotch* Nobles, who were almost all inclined to an open Rupture with the *English*. Whilst the Council was thinking of Means to make this Step, without discovering too plainly their Design, an Accident happened in *Scotland* which saved them the Trouble of making the first Advances. *Treaty about setting the King of Scotland at Liberty.*

Mordac Stuart, Regent of *Scotland* since the Death of *Buchanan*, the Duke of *Albany* his Father, had three Sons all very ill-condition, and who created him a world of Vexation, by Reason he had neither Sense nor Resolution enough to keep them within the Bounds of their Duty. The youngest asking him one Day for a certain Hawk, and being denied, he wrung the Bird's Neck, though he knew his Father set a great Value upon it. This Action making the Regent sensible how difficult it would be for him to govern the Nation committed to his Care, since his own Children had so little Respect for him, he summoned the *States*, and proposed to them the treating with *England* about their King's Liberty. A Motion so agreeable to the Wishes both of Nobles and People, was received with Joy and Applause. And not
to

* Of 12 Pence in the Pound for all Merchandize exported or imported, and 3 Shillings for every Tun of Wine, for three Years.

1423. to afford him leisure to repent, Ambassadors were forthwith named, and a Power given them to go and negotiate the Affair. As the Council of *England* then stood affected, these Ambassadors met with a very civil Reception, and Commissioners were immediately appointed to treat with them. The Commissioners Instructions ran, that they should consent to King *James's* Liberty upon the following Terms: That the Captive Prince should pay the King the Sum of Forty, or at least of Thirty-six Thousand Marks, for the Expence they had been at in *England* during his Captivity: That a Truce should be made, during which neither of the two Kings should send any Aid to the other's Enemies. Moreover, they were ordered to intimate to the *Scotch* Ambassadors, that it would be very convenient to make a Match between their King and some Princess of *England*. But the Council wished, that if possible the Proposal might be first made by the *Scots*.

First Conference,
September.
p. 299.

The first Conference upon this Affair was held at *York*, in the Beginning of *September*; and on the 10th of the same Month the Plenipotentiaries agreed, that *James* should have his Liberty, and might return into his own Kingdom. That he should pay at several Payments, the Sum of Forty Thousand Marks, and give Hostages for Security of Payment. At the second Conference, which was held at *London* on the 4th of *December*, all Matters relating to the Payment of the Money, and Quality of the Hostages were settled. Then it was agreed, that the King of *Scotland* should marry *Joanna*, Sister of the Duke of * *Somerset*, and Niece of the Duke of *Exeter* and Bishop of *Winchester*. In Consideration of this Marriage, which was solemnized in the Beginning of *February* next Year, *Henry*, or the Council in his Name, abated Ten Thousand of the Forty Thousand Marks the King of *Scotland* was to pay.

A Match is
agreed upon
between
James and
Joanna of
Somerset.
p. 302. 322.

Matters

* *John Beaufort*, Son of *John* Marquis of *Dorset*, Son of *John* of *Gaunt* by *Catharine Swinford*, was not created Duke of *Somerset* and Earl of *Kendale*, till the 21st of *Henry VI.* *Dugdale.*

Matters being thus settled, the Ambassadors of both Nations signed a Truce for seven Years, to commence *May* the 1st 1424, during which each of the two Kings was obliged to hinder his Subjects from doing any thing detrimental to the other. And therefore, by this Treaty *James* bound himself indirectly to recall his Troops out of *France* before *May* the 1st. Nevertheless, whether he had neglected to send Orders for their Return, or whether, as is most likely, his Generals found some Pretence to evade them, these Troops, as we shall see hereafter, were in *France* in *August*. All these Negotiations being thus ended, *James* was conducted to the Borders, and set at Liberty in the Beginning of *March*.

An *English* Historian affirms, that before *James* quitted *England*, he did *Homage* to young *Henry* in *Windsor-Castle* for the whole Kingdom of *Scotland*, and swore *Fealty* to him. It were to be wished, that advancing a Matter of such Importance, and so very improbable, this Historian, who relates the very Words of the Oath and *Homage* *, had told us from whence he had it. It cannot be denied that since *John Baliol*, all the Kings of *Scotland* had constantly refused this *Homage*. For we must not reckon in the Number of the Kings *Edward Baliol*, who in order to ascend the Throne of *Scotland*, had made himself Slave of *Edward III*. But not to go back so far, it will suffice to remark, that *Robert III*. Father of *James*, flatly refused to do *Homage* to *Henry IV*. and that since there had been no Treaty of Peace between the two Nations, but Truces only, which had settled nothing upon that Head. Wherefore *James* was in the same Case with the King his

1424.
Truce between
Scotland
and Eng-
land.
p. 328.

Mistakes of
some Eng-
lish Histo-
rians con-
cerning the
Homage.
Hollingsh.
p. 587.

* *James Stuart*, King of *Scots*, shall be true and faithful unto you, Lord *Henry*, by the Grace of God, King of *England* and *France*, and the Noble and Superior Lord of the Kingdom of *Scotland*; and to You I make my Fidelity for the same Kingdom of *Scotland*, which I hold and claim of you; and I shall bear you my Faith and Fidelity of Life and Limb, and worthy Honour against all Men; and faithfully I shall acknowledge, and shall do you Service due for the Kingdom of *Scotland* aforesaid, so God help me, and these Holy Evangelists. *Hollingsh. 587. Stow's An. 364.*

1424.

Father. If therefore he did Homage to *Henry VI.* it must be by virtue of some new Agreement. And yet it does not appear in the *Instructions* of the *English* Commissioners, that they had any Orders about that Matter. The *Articles* agreed upon by the Plenipotentiaries appointed to treat about the Liberty of King *James*, make no mention of this *Homage*, though they are very large upon Things of much less moment. The Treaty of Truce has nothing like it. In short, in above Thirty several *Records* extant in *Rymer's Collection*, which concern the Affairs negotiated in the Years 1423 and 1424, between the *English* and *Scotch*, there is not one Syllable alluding to any such thing. Upon all these Accounts, there is room, in my Opinion, to presume that what has been advanced by the Historian before-mentioned, and by several others after him, concerning the pretended Homage done at *Windfor*, is a mere Fiction of their own. They verily believed, as many do still at this very Day, that this *Homage* was due from the King of *Scotland*, and accordingly they imagined the captive King would not be suffered to go without being obliged to do it. But besides the Reasons which the Kings of *Scotland* had to refuse this Homage, the Silence of the Records in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, seems to me in this Matter to be a clear Demonstration. The Reader may look back to what has been said upon this Subject in the Reign of *Edward I.* where the respective Rights of the *English* and *Scots* were sufficiently set forth.

Beaumont
taken by
the French

Whilst the Liberty of the King of *Scotland* was negotiating in *England*, the War was carrying on in *France* with various Success. In the Beginning of the Year the *French* took by Storm *Beaumont* upon *Oyle*, a small Town in the *Isle of France*, six Miles from *Pontoise*.

La Charité
sur-
prized

On the other Side, one *Perrinet Grasset*, a *Burgundian* Adventurer, surprized *la Charité*, a Place of great Importance, which could afford the *English* a Passage over the *Loire*, and enable them to carry their Arms beyond that River.

The

The taking of Places by Surprize was then so frequent, that it is strange the daily Instances of it should not put the Governours more upon their Guard. The Duke of Bedford was extremely vexed to see that as fast as he forwarded the Execution of his Projects, by taking some one of the Enemy's Towns about *Paris*, some other was surprized, which retarded his Designs. His Scheme was, as I before observed, to clear the *Northern* Provinces, and yet he could not bring it about. There was no End of his Work. There was a Necessity therefore, in order to pursue his Plan, to take *Beaumont* from the *French*; and with this Intent he opened the Campaign in *March* with an Army of Ten Thousand Men. After he had recovered this Place, he made himself master likewise in the *Isle of France* of several Castles, which very much incommoded the *Parisians*.

Whilst he was taken up with these slight Matters, News was brought him that *Girant*, a Captain of King *Charles's* Party, had surprized *Ivry* on the Frontiers of *Normandy*. He posted immediately into those Parts, and not to give the *French* time to provide for its Defence, laid Siege to the Town in the Beginning of *July*. *Girant* perceiving that he should not be able to hold out long in the Condition he was in, capitulated to surrender on the 15th of *August*, if not relieved by that Time. King *Charles* being soon informed of this Capitulation, resolved to relieve *Ivry* at any Rate, and to employ in that Service the *Italian* and *Scotch* Troops lately sent him. To these he joined about eleven Thousand Men drawn out of several Provinces and Garrisons, being well aware, that without a great Superiority of Forces, it would be very difficult to accomplish his Design. All these Troops together made an Army of Twenty Thousand Men, which was formed in *Maine*. *Charles* had never had one so strong. It was the Earl of *Buchan's* Place, as *Constable of France*, to command in chief. But he was pleased to resign that Honour to the Earl of *Dowglas's* his Father-in-law, to whom the King sent for that Purpose a *Patent*, constituting him his Lieutenant-General of

1424.

Beaumont
retaken.

The French
surprize
Ivry.

It is besieged
by the
Regent.

It capitulates
Charles
prepares to
relieve
Ivry.

Earl of
Dowglas
commands
the Army
of France.

1424. all the Kingdom, otherwise the *Constable* could not have served under him.

He does not think fit to attack the English.

All the *French* Nobles of *Charles's* Party repaired to the Army, in order to have a Share in the Glory which was expected from this Expedition. The *French* beginning to march, passed on the 12th of *August* by the Walls of *Verneuil*, a Town in *Perch*, in the Possession of the *English*. The next Day they came in Sight of the *English* Army, which was advantageously intrenched before *Ivry*. *Dowglas* had no sooner taken a View of the Enemy's Camp, but he judged it impossible to attack it. And therefore, altering his Design on a sudden, he wheeled about, and resolved to lay Siege to *Verneuil*. He did not question but he should have time enough to fortify his Camp so, as to expect the *English* with Advantage, or in case they would not venture to attack him, the taking of *Verneuil* would make the King ample Satisfaction for the Loss of *Ivry*. Upon his appearing before *Verneuil*, the Garrison preposterously imagined, that he was come from defeating the *English* before *Ivry*, taking it for granted, that so much superior as he was, he would never return thus without having done something. In this Belief, which the *French* took care to keep them in, they surrendered upon the first Summons, and *Dowglas* garrisoned the Place with *French*.

Verneuil surrenders to him.

The Earl of Salisbury reinforces the Regent.

Upon News of the March of the *French*, the Earl of *Salisbury* had made haste to join the Regent with a Body of a Thousand Men at Arms, and Two Thousand Archers, which arrived at the Camp on the 14th. So that the *English* Army was about Fifteen Thousand strong.

Ivry surrenders. The Regent approaches the French.

On the 15th of *August* *Ivry* opened her Gates to the Besiegers, pursuant to the Capitulation, and next Day the Regent marched towards *Verneuil*, where the *French* still remained. When he was about three Miles from their Camp, he sent a Herald to offer them Battle: At the same time he bid him tell *Dowglas* he was come to take a Bit with him; to which the other replied, he should find the Cloth laid. It was properly the Duke of *Bedford's* Business to advance, since he was in quest of his Enemies. But knowing the impetuous Humour of the *French*, he did

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did not question but as they were superior in Number, they would come and attack him, and therefore resolved to stay and expect them. To that Purpose he pitched upon an advantageous Post for his Camp, and for the Field of Battle, a Piece of Ground flanked by a Hill, on which he placed Two Thousand Archers. He ordered his foremost Ranks to take such Stakes as the late King his Brother had made so good use of at the Battle of *Azin-court*, that they might the better withstand the Charge of the *French Cavalry*, among which were all the Nobles. In this Posture he waited the Enemies Resolutions, hoping they would be so imprudent as to attack him thus posted, and he was not deceived in his Expectations.

1424.
and re-
solves to
wait their
coming.

The Earl of *Dowglas* having viewed the *English* Camp, called a Council of War. He represented, that the Duke of *Bedford*, instead of advancing, had a Mind to fight with Advantage, on a Ground he had made choice of himself; and that therefore, it was by no Means proper to go and attack him in that Place. That the Risk the King's Affairs would run was of so great Consequence, that he was of Opinion they ought not to hazard a Battle. That nevertheless, if it was judged necessary to come to an Engagement, the best way would be to pitch upon an advantageous Post, and there expect the Enemy, to the end they might not fight till after such Precautions were taken as would in some measure warrant Success. This Advice coming from the Mouth of a Foreigner, was thought too cautious by some of the Council. Amidst the Debates upon this Matter a Party was formed against the General, which was headed by *Aymeri*, Viscount of *Narbonne*. This Lord set forth, that in case they avoided coming to a Battle with so great odds on their Side, the Reputation of the King's Arms would be ruined past Redemption: That by such a Piece of Cowardise the Troops would be so disheartened, that there would be no bringing them any more to face Enemies who are shunned when they ought to be attacked: That the King's Affairs could not be restored but by some bold Stroke, and as there could not be a fairer Opportunity to vanquish the Enemy, the
letting

Dissenti-
ons in the
French
Council of
War.

1424.

Narbonne
forces
Dowglafs
to march
up to the
Enemy.

Battle of
Verneuil,
Aug. 16

letting it slip would be betraying the Interest of the King and Kingdom. In spite of these Reasons, the *Constable* and the oldest Captains were of the General's Opinion. But the contrary Party were resolved to carry their Point. *Narbonne* their Head going out of the Council, ordered his Banner to be displayed, and began to march towards the Army. They who had been of his Mind did the same, and all the Volunteers of the Army went with them. *Dowglafs* was enraged at this Disobedience. But neither his nor the *Constable's* Authority was capable of bringing them back. Had he been in his own Country, he would have left these rash Men to perish in their Folly. But as he was in a foreign Kingdom, he was afraid he should be taxed with Cowardise, or accused of having voluntarily suffered Part of his Troops to be lost. Besides, the Number of the Disobedient increasing every Moment, he saw himself constrained, though with extreme Indignation, to march with the rest of the Army. Upon their seeing the General coming, they very readily left him the Care of conducting the Army, congratulating one another upon having found Means to conquer his Obstinacy. Meanwhile, notwithstanding the Diligence of the Earl of *Dowglafs*, Disorder and Confusion got to such a Head among his Troops, who were afraid of having the Victory snatched out of their Hands, that they were almost quite out of Breath when they came within Sight of the *Engliss*. However, that did not hinder them from attacking their Enemies immediately, without minding those that exhorted them to rest a little before they engaged. The *Italians* being exposed to the Arrows of the two Thousand Archers on the Hill, were the first that took to their Heels. The *French* and *Scots* behaved better; but they had to deal with Soldiers inured to War, who were not easily frightened. At last, the Leaders seeing the Charge proved unsuccessful, and being sensible they should be liable to everlasting disgrace, and some of them having also reason to dread an exemplary Punishment, chose an honourable Death before a shameful Retreat. The Earl of *Dowglafs*, the Earl of *Buchan*, the *Constable*, *Narbonne*, *Ventadour*, *Granville*,

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Rambouillet, being slain, and many others of the most eminent wounded, there was scarce a General left to lead up the Soldiers to the Charge. Whereupon the whole Army was utterly routed, and hotly pursued. Then it was that the greatest Slaughter was made, as it usually happens on such Occasions. The *Italians* returning back, upon the false Information that their Side had got the better, met the victorious *English*, who slew great Numbers of them. These foreign Troops would have been all cut in Pieces, had not the Night put a stop to the Fury of the Conquerors. The *French* and *Scots* lost above five Thousand Men, who lay dead on the Spot, besides abundance of wounded and Prisoners. Among the last were the Marshal *de la Fayette* and *Gaucour*. The young Duke of *Alençon*, who had behaved that Day most gallantly, was found amongst the Dead, with some Remains of Life still in him, and by the extraordinary Care of the Regent was cured of his Wounds. But the Recovery of his Liberty cost him dear, as will be seen hereafter. The *English* lost sixteen or seventeen Hundred of their bravest Soldiers. The 17th of *August*, which was the next Day after the Battle, the Regent invested *Verneuil*, where *Rambouire* commanded. This Governour would have been able to hold out a good while, had he been well stored with Provisions. But the want of Victuals, and perhaps the Consternation the Garrison was in, obliged him to surrender on the third Day. They found in *Vernuil* all the Baggage of the *French*, *Scotch* and *Italian* Generals, with the Money designed for the Payment of the Army. Upon entering the Town, the *English* met the Corps of the Viscount of *Narbonne*, as it was going to be buried, and because he was one of the Murderers of the Duke of *Burgundy*, they took his Body and hung it on a Gibbet.

1424.

Duke of
Alençon
taken pri-
soner.

Verneuil
surrenders
to the
English.

*Narbon-
ne's Body*
hung on a
Gibbet.

After the Battle of *Verneuil*, the Regent left the Command of the Army to the Earl of *Salisbury*, and posted to *Paris*, where some Mutineers had raised a Sedition imagining that he could not fail of being defeated by the *French*. This Commotion was appeased by the Death of some of the Ring-leaders: However, it made the Regent sensible,

A Commo-
tion at Pa-
ris appeased
by the Re-
gent.

1424.

Salisbury
conquers
Maine.

sensible, that he should not rely too much on the Affections of the *Parisians*, unless it was in his Power to keep them always in Awe.

The Earl of *Salisbury* finding himself strong enough to make some considerable Attempt, entered *Maine*, and besieged *Mans*, the Capital of the Province, and one of the strongest Cities in *France*. The Governour made a long and brave Defence. But at length, seeing no Prospect of Relief, he capitulated. After the taking of *Mans*, the *English* General invested *La Ferté-Bernard*, another Place in the same Province, which could hardly be carried by Storm, by reason of its Situation. Whilst part of his Troops kept this Place blocked up, he over-ran the rest of the Province, and took *St. Suzanne* with some other Places. He finished this glorious Campaign, and the Conquest of *Maine*, with taking *La Ferté-Bernard*, after a four Months Blockade.

A favourable
Event
for Charles.

The Loss of the Battle of *Crevant* and *Verneuil* had thrown King *Charles's* Troops and all the Towns on his Side into great Consternation. Had not Winter been coming on, in all likelihood the *English* would have pushed their Conquests farther. But the Respite which the Season gave King *Charles*, would have only delayed his Ruin a few Months, if a favourable Event, which he little dreamt of, had not given him time to breathe: I mean, the Quarrel which arose between the Dukes of *Gloucester* and *Brabant*, wherein the Duke of *Burgundy* was likewise engaged. One may truly say, that this Affair caused the *English* to lose the critical Moment, which in all probability was to determine the Fate of the *House of Valois*, and render them Masters of all *France*. This is what will plainly appear in the Sequel. But it will be necessary first to give a brief Account of the Rise of this Quarrel which proved so fatal to *England*.

The Affair
of Hainault.

William of Bavaria late Earl of *Hainault*, had by *Margaret* his Countess, Daughter of *Philip le Hardi* Duke of *Burgundy*, only one Daughter called *Jaquelina*, who had been married to *John* second Son of *Charles VI.* *John* becoming *Dauphin* by the Death of his elder Brother *Lewis*, died

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at *Compiègne* in 1416, and *Faquelina* remained a Widow at her Father's House. The Earl her Father dying shortly after, she became Heiress of his Dominions, containing *Hainault, Holland, Zeland* and *Friesland*. So noble an Inheritance could not fail to attract the Addresses of a great many Princes. But the Countess her Mother being desirous to procure this rich Match for a Prince of her own Family, cast her Eyes on *John Duke of Brabant* her Nephew, and got her Daughter to marry him. This Marriage proved unfortunate. The new-married Couple soon fell at Variance, for Reasons which have nothing to do with our History. Their Quarrel grew to that Height, that at last *Faquelina* ordered Matters so, that she was run away with by some *English* Knights, who carried her to *London*. I have observed in the foregoing Reign that her being thus carried off was not unknown to King *Henry V.* There is great likelihood that this Monarch had then thoughts of marrying *Faquelina* to the Duke of *Gloucester*.

1442.

Upon this Princess's Arrival in *England* she began to think of Means how to annul her Marriage with the Duke of *Brabant*. To that end she applied to the Anti-Pope *Benedict XIII.* who though deposed by the *Council of Pisa*, stiffly persisted in keeping his Title and Dignity. The pretended Pope, overjoyed at being addressed to, cancelled *Faquelina's* Marriage, and gave her Liberty to marry again. But whether *Henry V.* was afraid of disobliging the Duke of *Burgundy*, Cousin-German of the Duke of *Brabant*, or whether he thought it too irregular to make use of the Dispensation of a Pope whom he acknowledged not for such, he hastened not the Conclusion of the intended Marriage.

Henry dying in the mean while, the Duke of *Gloucester* believed he ought not to put off any longer a Marriage which afforded him so advantageous a Prospect. He took *Faquelina* to Wife, either in the very Year 1422, or at least in the Beginning of 1423; for we find in the *Collection* Act. Pub. of the *Publick Acts*, a *Petition* dated *February 5th, 1423*, X. 279. which was presented to him under the Title of *Earl of Hainault*. However that be, the Duke had no sooner con-

1424.

Monstre-
let.The Duke
of Burgun-
dy comes
to the Duke
of Bedford
at Paris.He marries
Bonne of
Artois.

summed his Marriage, but he fell to contriving the Means to take Possession of his Spouse's Dominions, which were in the Hands of the Duke of *Brabant*. Mean while the Duke of *Burgundy* foreseeing that *Jaquelina's* third Marriage might create a War between the two Princes her Husbands, had a Conference upon this Subject with the Duke of *Bedford* at *Amiens*, and after that another at *Paris* in December 1423. They agreed that this Affair should be left to the Pope's Determination, as the proper Judge of such Cases. The Duke of *Brabant* approved of this Expedient, because he knew very well, there was no Reason strong enough to induce the Court of *Rome* to annul the Marriage. But the Duke of *Gloucester* rejected it, protesting however that he was ready to consent to any reasonable Accommodation. Mean Time, he prepared to assert his Pretensions, whilst the Duke of *Bedford* his Brother was triumphantly carrying on the War in *France*. At last in the Month of *October* 1424 he came to *Calais* together with his new Spouse, bringing along with him a Body of five Thousand Men. He staid there till about the Middle of *November*.

Though the Duke of *Burgundy* was entirely in the Interest of the Duke of *Brabant*, the good Understanding between him and the *English* still continued. He was in Hopes the Duke of *Gloucester* would drop his Pretensions, especially as he saw the Duke of *Bedford* his Brother used his Endeavours to perswade him to it. The Arrival of the *English* Troops at *Calais* alarmed him not, seeing he was ignorant as yet that they were designed against the Duke of *Brabant*. It was very likely that they were sent from *England* to reinforce the Regent. And therefore all the while the Duke of *Gloucester* staid at *Calais*, *Philip* was at *Paris* partaking of the Diversions and Entertainments made by the Regent on Account of his glorious Campaign. Upon his Return to *Dijon*, he celebrated his second Nuptials with *Bonne of Artois*, Widow of *Philip* Earl of *Nevers* his Uncle. She was own Sister of the Earl of *Eu* Prisoner in *England*, and Half-Sister of *Clermont* eldest Son of the Duke of *Bourbon*.

Whilst

Whilst this Marriage was solemnizing at *Dijon*, the Duke of *Gloucester* set out from *Calais* and marched towards *Hainault* with *Jaqueline* his Wife. He passed through Part of the Duke of *Burgundy's* Dominions, without suffering his Troops to commit any Ravages, and came before *Bouchain*, which opened her Gates to him. Quickly after all the other Towns of *Hainault* submitted to him and the Dutcheſs, and swore Fealty to them. The News of these Things being brought to the Duke of *Burgundy*, he ordered *Ligny* and *L'isle-Adam* to draw an Army together with all possible speed and go and join the Earl of *St. Pol*, Brother of the Duke of *Brabant*, who was making Preparations at *Brussels* to aid the Duke his Brother. But before we proceed any further in this Affair, it will be necessary to close the Account of the Occurrences of the Year 1424, with what had passed in *England* this Year.

1424.
The Duke
of Glou-
cester be-
comes
Master of
Hainault.

The Duke
of Bur-
gundy pre-
pares to aid
the Duke of
Brabant.

Sir *John Mortimer*, Brother* of *Edmund* Earl of *March*, being some Time since Prisoner in the Tower, was charged with having attempted to make his Escape in order to go and stir up an Insurrection in *Wales*. It was affirmed that his Design was to proclaim the Earl of *March* his Brother, and in case he refused, to proclaim himself. Whether his Crime was fully proved, or whether they were glad to get rid of a Person who might have had it in his Power to do Mischief in case he had escaped, he was condemned and executed.

The Earl of *March* his Brother did not long survive him. He died in *Ireland* about the latter End of the Year, without leaving any Issue. By his Death the Title of *Earl of March* and his Right to the Crown of *England*, from which he had been excluded by the Election of *Henry IV*, descended to *Richard* Duke of *York* his Nephew, Son of *Ann* his Sister and the Earl of *Cambridge**¹ beheaded at

Death of
the Earl of
March.

The Duke
of York is
his Heir.

* He could not be Brother of *Edmund* according to *Dugdale*, who says *Edmund* had only one Brother, called *Roger*, who died in 16 of *Richard II*. without Issue.

*¹ *Richard de Coningsburgh* (in *Yorkshire*) second Son of *Edmund de Langley* Duke of *York*, fifth Son of *Edward III*, whose eldest Son *Edward* died without Issue.

1424. *Southampton* in 1415. All the *English* Historians unanimously affirm, that this Prince, then under Age, bore not yet the Title of *Duke of York*, which according to them was not conferred upon him till the Parliament held at *Leicester* in 1426. But we find in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, that he is stiled *Duke of York* in a *Paper* dated *February 5, 1425*, that is, thirteen Months before the Parliament of *Leicester*, where he was only made a *Knight*.

1425.
Sad state
of King
Charles's
Affairs.

In the Beginning of the Year 1425 the Affairs of King *Charles* were in a very miserable Condition. The Battles of *Crevant* and *Vernueil* had deprived him of his Troops and his best Generals. He had neither Money nor Credit. His Revenues being all mortgaged, he saw himself unable to bring an Army into the Field. The Dukes of *Burgundy* and *Bretagne*, the two most powerful *Vassals* of the Crown, were in strict Alliance with the *English*. The King of *Sicily*, his Brother-in-law, had just lost *Maine*, and could hardly keep the rest of his Dominions. The King of *Scotland*, the antient Ally of *France*, had made a Truce with the *English*, which tied up his Hands, and hindred him from sending any Succours. Reduced to this wretched Pass, he found himself as it were driven beyond the *Loire*, without any Prospect of being able to keep any longer the Places he still had about *Paris*. To all this was added the just Apprehension of quickly seeing the Enemy's Armies in *Berry*, *Languedoc*, and *Dauphiné*. The *English* called him only the *Earl of Ponthieu*, or by Way of Derision, the *King of Bourges*.

The Affair
of Hal-
pault.

Certainly if the Duke of *Gloucester* had shown the same Zeal for the King his Nephew, as he did for his own Interest, and sent to the Duke of *Bedford* the Troops and Money he employed against the Duke of *Brabant*, one may reasonably presume, *France's* Business would have been done. Never would *Charles* have had it in his Power to wrest that Conquest out of the Hands of the *English*. This was the *Critical Minute* which that Nation should not have let slip. They were, as one may say, within an Ace of concluding a War which had lasted ten Years, and which in all Appearance was about to end according to their Wish, with

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1425.

with securing the Crown of *France* to the Kings of *England*. The Duke of *Bedford* saw it plainly. He never ceased to sollicite his Brother to make the best of so favourable a Juncture, and put off the Execution of his Designs to a more convenient Season, when he might be able to employ all the Forces of *France* and *England*. But his Remonstrances were not capable of diverting the Ambitious Duke from an Enterprize, which gave him the Prospect of obtaining four of the finest Provinces of the *Low Countries*. He was younger Brother, and the Succession to the Throne of *England*, supposing the King his Nephew should dye without Issue, was to come to his Brother before him. For this Reason he thought himself obliged to lay hold of the present Opportunity which would raise him above the Rank of a Subject, and which was not likely to offer again. But at the same time he caused the Duke his Brother to lose that of completing the Conquest of *France*. The great Number of Garrisons he was obliged to keep in the Kingdom, where was neither Town nor Castle but what was fortified, quite draining the *English* Army, so that the Regent not receiving any Supplies by Reason of the unhappy Diversion of *Hainault*, was no more able than King *Charles* to bring an Army into the Field. This is the true Reason why during the Year 1425 the War was, as it were, discontinued in *France*, and that nothing considerable was done on either Side.

I left the Duke of *Gloucester* Master of *Hainault*, and the Duke of *Burgundy* preparing to snatch the Prey out of his Hands. In the Orders *Burgundy* gave his Generals to levy an Army, he had set forth, that having agreed with the Duke of *Bedford* upon an Expedient to put an End to the Quarrel, the Duke of *Brabant* had consented to it, but the Duke of *Gloucester* had rejected it. *Gloucester* coming to the Knowledge of what the Duke of *Burgundy* had given out, sent him a Letter dated at *Mons*, *January* the 12th 1424-5, taxing him with having said an Untruth. The Duke of *Burgundy* nettled at this Affront, returned him a very abusive Answer. He told him he lied, and offered to make good what he had advanced, in single Combat, and

Continuation of the Business of Hainault. Montfrellet.

A challenge between the Duke of Burgundy and Gloucester.

1425.

to take the Duke of *Bedford* for Judge *. The Duke of *Gloucester* accepted the Challenge, and appointed *St. George's Day* for the Combat. They wrote one another several other bitter Letters, the Contents whereof are of no Service in clearing up what remains of this Affair.

Braine
taken by the
Brabanders

Whilst these two Princes were thus reviling one another, the Earl of *St. Pol*, Brother of the Duke of *Brabant* besieged the little Town of *Braine* in *Hainault*, defended by two Hundred *English*. After a faint Resistance, the Garrison having capitulated, the *Brabanders* violated the Articles, put the *English* to the Sword, and set Fire to the Town.

Truce be-
tween the
Duke of
Gloucester
and Bra-
bant.
Gloucester
returns to
England.

Mean while, as the single Combat between the Duke of *Burgundy* and *Gloucester* was properly to decide the main Quarrel between *Gloucester* and *Brabant*, it was thought fit a Truce should be made till the issue of the Combat should be known. Upon signing the Truce the Duke of *Gloucester* set out for *England*. He would fain have carried his Dutcheſs along with him, but the People of *Mons* were so urgent with him to leave her behind, that he could not deny their Request. He made the Magistrates however take a solemn Oath to stand by her with their Lives and Fortunes against all Persons whatever.

Charles
takes Ad-
vantage of
the Hai-
nault-Di-
version.

Whilst the War of *Hainault* kept that of *France* as it were in Suspence, *Charles* took Measures to improve this lucky Diversion. In a great Council he held to consider of the State of his Affairs, it was unanimously agreed, that there was but one Way left to get out of the wretched Condition he was in. And that was to offer the Dukes of *Burgundy* and *Bretagne* what terms they should be pleased to require, in order to bring them off from the *English*. The first had openly broke with the Duke of *Gloucester*. The other could be gained by the Earl of *Richmond* his Brother, who had a great Influence over him, and moreover was very angry with the Duke of *Bedford*. This was a Juncture which was not to be neglected. On the other Hand, *Bonne* of *Artois*, lately married to the Duke of *Burgundy*, being

French

* *Dugdale* says, the Emperor.

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French and Half-Sister to the Earl of *Clermont*, a zealous Stickler for the King, it was likely she would very readily endeavour to gain the Duke her Spouse.

It being relolved then to try these two Means, *Charles* dispatched to the Earl of *Richmond* private Emiffaries, who told him what a great Esteem the King had for him. They hinted to him, that he had often said, he should deem himself invincible if he could but get him to command his Army. This was attacking the Prince in the most sensible Part. As he had a high Conceit of his own Merit, it was no small Pleasure to him to see King *Charles* offer him a Post which the Duke of *Bedford* had denied him even with some Signs of Disdain. However being well aware that the Persons which talked to him thus, were sent only to sound him, he contented himself with returning a civil Answer to their Compliments, and insinuating to them that he had a great Inclination to serve their Master.

This first Step being made, *Charles* sent to him the Queen Dowager of *Sicily* his Mother-in-law, with *Tanneui du Châtel*, and impowered them to make him an offer of the Constable's Sword. This Post had been vacant ever since the Death of the Earl of *Buchan* slain in the Battle of *Vernenil*. The Queen of *Sicily* and *du Châtel* found the Earl very much disposed to change Sides. He was exasperated against the Duke of *Bedford*; and as he was extremely Haughty and Revengful, it was a great Pleasure to him to think he should have an Oppotunity of being revenged for the Contempt shown him. And therefore without much Sollicitation he accepted the King's Offer with great Demonstrations of Thankfulness, and promised to engage the Duke his Brother in his Interest. However he required two Conditions, without which he protested he could not accept the Honour the King was pleased to do him, neither could he promise any Thing with Regard to the Duke his Brother. The First was, that *Louvet* and *d'Avangour* the principal Authors of the *Pontievrian* Conspiracy, should be removed from Court. The Second, that the Duke of *Burgundy* should consent to his siding with King *Charles*.

He gains
the Earl of
Richmond
and by his
Means the
Duke of
Bretagne.

Conditions
demanded
by the Earl
of Rich-
mond.

145.

Charles. His Reason for this was, because he had engaged himself by Oath with the Duke of *Burgundy*, in the Treaty of *Amiens*. He had not the same Scruple with Respect to the Duke of *Bedford*, though he was no less engaged with him, than with the Duke of *Burgundy*. But Passion very often causes the same Thing to appear with two different Faces, according to the Persons with whom we have to deal. The Queen and *du Châtel* very readily assured him that the King would comply with his Demands. Upon which he came to *Tours*, where *Charles* took care to flatter his Vanity with all possible Civilities and Caresses. But however the Earl stood firm to what he had required, and told the King plainly, he could not list in his Service but upon the Terms proposed. The King gave him hopes that he would grant the First, without however fixing the Time; and as to the Second, he was pleased that he should go and talk with the Duke of *Burgundy* in order to get his Consent. He took likewise this Opportunity to send to the Duke of *Burgundy* the Bishops of *Puy* and *Chartres*, who had Orders to sound him, whether there was any Way to bring him off from the King of *England's* Party.

The Duke of
Burgundy
less intractable with
regard to
Charles
VII.

Though the Duke of *Burgundy* was extremely incensed against the Duke of *Gloucester*, he appeared not so forward to come to an Accommodation as *Charles* and his Council expected. The Murder of the Duke his Father still sitting hard upon his Mind, he showed at first great Backwardness to a Reconciliation. Nevertheless, pressed by the King's Envoys, who endeavoured to excuse their Master by casting the Blame on his evil Counsellors, he replied, it was therefore the King's Part to dismiss those pernicious Counsellors, and then it would be Time enough to talk of an Accommodation. This was sufficient to let them see that he was not altogether inexorable, especially as he readily enough consented that the Earl of *Richmond* should accept of the *Constable's* Sword.

The King's
Perplexity
about his
Favourites.

Charles, it seems, had reason to congratulate himself upon his good Fortune. It was in his own Power to win the Duke of *Bretagne* to his Side; and moreover, he had room

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to hope that the Duke of *Burgundy* was not proof against a reasonable Satisfaction. Nevertheless, the Terms imposed upon him threw him into great Perplexity. To procure these Advantages, there was a Necessity of casting off his two principal Ministers, Favourites and Confidants; namely, *Tannegui du Châtel*, who slew the Duke of *Burgundy*, and *Louvet*, President of *Provence*, whom the Duke of *Bretagne* considered as Author of the *Pontievrian* Conspiracy. *Du Châtel* saved him part of the Trouble he was under. He came and cast himself at his Feet, intreating him in Requital of his Services, to give him leave to retire, since his Presence at Court could not for the future but be detrimental to so good a Master. It was with extreme Reluctance that the King granted his Request. It was a long time before he could come to a Resolution. Mean while, urged by the continual Instances of a faithful Servant, who desired this Favour only to give him a fresh Proof of his Zeal, he suffered him at length to retire. One meets with few Favourites who thus prefer their Master's Good to their own. *Louvet*, who was not so disinterested, did not think himself obliged to follow his Example. So he might keep his Post, he never mattered the King's losing all the Advantages which could be expected from an Alliance with the Duke of *Bretagne*.

1425.

Châtel desires leave to retire.

Louvet tries to keep his Post.

Mean while the Earl of *Richmond* not doubting in the least but the King would be as good as his word in relation to *Louvet*, came to him at *Tours*, where he received from him the *Constable's* Sword on the 7th of *March* 1425. He had promised to take off the Duke of *Bretagne* from the Side of *England*: but as he still saw *Louvet* and *d'Avan-gour* about the King, he hastned not the Performance of his Promise. *Charles* was willing enough to make him a Sacrifice of the last. But *Louvet* had a surer Footing at Court: Besides his being well-beloved by the King, one of his Daughters, Wife of the Lord de *Foyense*, shared *Charles's* Affections with *Agnes Sorrel*, who began to appear at Court as a Favourite. Wherefore, in order to win the Duke of *Bretagne*, *Charles* saw himself constrained to discard a beloved Minister, and to disoblige a Mistress. This

Charles cannot think of discarding Louvet.

1425.

gave him no small Concern. On the other Hand, *Louvet* used his utmost Endeavours to ruin the *Constable* in his Master's Favour. He represented to him with what Haughtiness he had acted, in imposing Terms on his Sovereign, as if he had been his Equal, and in making it to be considered as a Favour, that he was pleased to accept of the *Constable's* Sword. In short, he knew how to manage so, that the King being pretty obstinate in his Temper, resolved not to part with his *Minister* come what would.

He is forc'd
from Court
by the Con-
stable.

The *Constable*, finding that they did not keep their word with him, was determined to ruin *Louvet* in spite of the King himself. To that Purpose, being sensible that this *Minister* was not beloved by the great Men at Court, he caballed with them in such a Manner, that a Plot was formed to get him removed from about the King. As soon as he was sure his Project would succeed, he withdrew from Court without taking Leave, and sent the King word he would never return as long as *Louvet* was there. *Charles* not giving himself much Trouble about his withdrawing, still persisted in the Resolution to keep his *Minister*. But when he saw that by Degrees the great Men retired to their Governments on divers Pretences, that they refused to obey his Orders, and that he had but two or three Towns left which he could call his own, he found he must resolve to part with *Louvet*, or lose his Kingdom. He was even apprehensive that the *Constable* would deliver up the Duke of *Bretagne's* Places to the *English*. And therefore he was forced, though much against his Will, to dismiss his *Minister*, who had still Credit enough to get *de Giac* his Creature to be received in his Room.

The Duke
of Bre-
tagne does
Homage to
Charles.

Upon this Removal, the *Constable* was willing to return to Court: but *Charles* was so provoked with him, that he could not bear the Thoughts of seeing him. However, the State of his Affairs obliged him at length to admit him again. The *Constable*, content with having compassed his Ends, performed his Promise concerning the Duke his Brother, and brought him to *Saumur*, where he did Homage to the King.

Whilst

Whilst the Earl of *Richmond* was-raising Disturbances in the Court of King *Charles*, *Henry's* enjoyed no greater Tranquillity. I have already observed, that the Duke of *Gloucester* and Bishop of *Winchester* his Uncle were no great Friends. On which Side soever the Fault lay, they let no Opportunity slip of plaguing one another. The *Hainault* Expedition had furnished the Bishop with a Handle against the Duke, which he knew how to make the best of. When that Affair was moved in Council, he was Tooth and Nail against it, and manifestly showed the Prejudice it might bring to the King's Affairs. But though he was on this Occasion on the right Side of the Question, yet the Duke of *Gloucester* had Interest enough to get it approved. He sat out with a Mind imbittered against his Uncle, and with a Resolution to be revenged, when an Opportunity should offer.

1425.
Quarrel
between
the Duke
of Glou-
cester and
Bishop of
Winchest-
er.

Historians inform us not how the Government was settled during the Duke of *Gloucester's* Absence, which lasted about a Year. It is very likely that the Bishop of *Winchester* had the greatest Share in it, and that he made use of this Advantage to create his Enemy many Vexations. Nay some say, that all his Proceedings tended to deprive him of the Protectorship, in order to get himself invested with that Dignity.

The Duke being returned to *England* about *October* 1425, the Quarrel was kindled afresh with great Animosity on both Sides. One Day having a Mind to go to the *Tower*, Sir *Richard Woodville* the Governour denied him Entrance, by the Advice of the Bishop of *Winchester*. The Protector, who was exceeding high-spirited, fell out into a great Passion with the Bishop, and proceeded even to Threatnings. In fine, the Quarrel was carried to that Height, that they both began to arm their Friends either to attack or defend. The Duke of *Coimbra* Prince of *Portugal*, who was then in *England*, and the Archbishop of *Canterbury* endeavoured in vain to reconcile them. An Historian says, that the Bishop of *Winchester* was forced to fly for Refuge to the *Tower*, and that five or six of his People were killed by the Duke's Followers. But this is unlikely.

Monstre-
let.

1425. unlikely, seeing in their Complaints against one another which were laid before the ensuing Parliament, there is no mention of any such Thing.

The Duke of Bedford comes into England.

Warwick commands in France. Aët. Pub. X. 339.

The Prelate having no Warriors on his Side, did by no Means find his Account in deciding the Quarrel by force of Arms. The Intrigues of the Cabinet were more within his Province. And therefore, to prevent the Mischiefs that might befall him in case Matters remained in this Posture, he wrote to the Duke of *Bedford*, desiring him to come into *England*. He told him in his Letter, that unless he made all imaginable haste, the Kingdom was in danger of being exposed to fatal Commotions by the violent Temper of his Brother. The Duke of *Bedford* perceiving the ill Consequence of this Quarrel, set out immediately, leaving in *France* *Richard de Beauchamp* Earl of *Warwick* to command in his Room, and arrived in *England* December the 20th.

1426. *The Duke is received for Protector.* Ibid.

As soon as the Duke set Foot in the Kingdom, he took the Title of *Protector*, and was received as such pursuant to the *Act* of Parliament in 1422. We find in the *Collection of the Publick Acts* not only that *Petitions* were presented to him as *Protector*, but that the Parliament assigned him the Salary of Eight Thousand Marks which were annexed to that Dignity, and which the Duke of *Gloucester* till then had enjoyed.

England proclaims War with Bretagne. Ibid.

Ibid.

A few Days after his Arrival, the Duke of *Bedford* mentioned at the Council Board the Treachery of the Duke of *Bretagne* and the Earl of *Richmond*, and set forth the great Prejudice it brought to the King's Affairs. Upon his Remonstrances, and by his Advice, it was unanimously resolved to declare War against the Duke of *Bretagne*; which was done on the 15th of *January* by Proclamation. Moreover, in order to hinder that Prince from assisting King *Charles*, a Resolution was taken to countenance the *Pontievrians* his Enemies, and try by their Means to raise a Civil War in *Bretagne*. To that end Safe-Conducts were dispatched to the two Brothers of that Name: But however, nothing came of it. Probably, they had not Interest enough in that Country.

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This Affair being over, the Duke of *Bedford* heartily set about procuring a sincere Reconciliation between the Duke his Brother and the Bishop of *Winchester*. The way to succeed was to side with neither. Had he taken his Brother's Part, as the Ties of Blood seemed to require, he would not have been fit to discharge the Office of Mediator. Moreover, besides the Character of *Brother* and *Nephew*, he had another to keep up in order to perform his Duty, and answer the Expectation of the Publick; I mean that of *Protector*, chiefly concerned in the Good of the *State* independently of the Duties of Nature. Wherefore, not to take upon him the sole Management of so nice an Affair, he convened some of the prime Nobility at *St. Albans*, in hopes of being able, with their Help, to find some Means to content the two Princes. But their Animosity was so great, that it was not possible to succeed this way. They were forced, after many fruitless Endeavours, to refer the Decision of the Affair to the ensuing Parliament, which was to meet at *Leicester* in *March*. Upon the Parliament's assembling, the Duke of *Gloucester* exhibited six Articles against the Bishop.

1426.
Continuation of the Quarrel of the Duke of Gloucester and Bishop of Winchester.

By the Ist, he accused him of having caused him to be denied Entrance into the *Tower*, and thereby rendered the Dignity of *Protector* contemptible.

Articles of Accusation against the Bishop.

The II^d ran, That he had endeavoured to carry off the King by Force from his Palace at *Eltham*, and remove him to *Windſor*, with Design to become Master of his Person.

The III^d, That not being satisfied with having caused him to be denied Admittance into the *Tower*, as was said in the first Article, he had laid an Ambush for him at *London* Bridge and in *Southwark*, on purpose to murder him.

The IVth, that he had concealed a Villain in the late King's Room; when he was Prince of *Wales*, in order to have him assassinated.

The Vth, That he had advised the said Prince to seize the Crown, before the King his Father was dead.

The VIth, That by his Letter to the Duke of *Bedford*, it evidently appeared that his Design was to stir up a Civil War in the Kingdom.

1426.
Bishop's
Reply.

He is de-
clared in-
nocent.

They are
made
Friends
outwardly.

Expedients
to satisfy
both Par-
ties.

Act. Pub.
X. 153.

Mowbray
restored,
and the
Duke of
York with
forty others
knighted,
P. 258.

The Constable
Rich-
mond takes
Pontorson
and besieges
Beuvron.

The Bishop gave a particular Answer to these Accusations, either by explaining such of his Actions as might have been ill construed, or by flatly denying the Facts which the Duke had laid to his Charge.

The Parliament having appointed Commissioners to examine what had been alledged on both Sides, declared, upon their Report, that the Articles of Accusation were without Ground, and acquitted the Bishop of the Crimes he was charged with. Which done, they obliged the two Princes to become Friends. Accordingly they shook Hands and were reconciled, at least in Appearance: however, they hated one another never the less for that.

Mean while, as the Times and Circumstances of Affairs would not admit that the Duke of *Gloucester* should be entirely sacrificed to his Enemy, the Protector took care to procure him also some Satisfaction. In the first Place, he took the *Great Seal* * from the Bishop of *Winchester* and gave it to the Bishop of *London*. Then, as it was impossible that the two Enemies should be together at the Council-Board without great Prejudice to the King's Affairs, he prevailed with the Bishop to go with him into *France*, under Colour of performing a Vow. But to make amends for the Injury his Absence might do him, he had leave to sollicite a *Cardinal's Cap*, which was sent him indeed shortly after.

This Affair being thus happily ended, the Protector restored *John Mowbray* Earl Marshal to the Title of *Duke of Norfolk*, which *Thomas* his Father was deprived of by *Richard II.* At the same time he made forty *Knights*, among whom was the young Duke of *York*. It is this, no doubt, that occasioned its being said, that this Prince had in this Parliament the Title of *Duke of York* conferred upon him, though it is certain he bore that Title before, as has been observed.

Whilst the Duke of *Bedford* was thus employed in *England*, the Constable *Richmond* levied an Army in *Bretagne*. He was extremely impatient to show that he was not unworthy of the Post he was lately promoted to. By his

Care

* But 'tis said p. 226. that the Parliament made the Bishop of *Durham* *Thomas Langley* Chancellor, and not the Bishop of *Winchester*.

Book X
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Care and Credit he drew together Twenty Thousand Men. With this numerous Army, which the Earl of *Warwick* was not in a Condition to withstand, he entered *Normandy*, and took *Pontorson* about the End of *February*. Then he laid Siege to *St. James de Beuvron*, where the *English* had a strong Garrison. This Siege proved longer and more difficult than he expected. He had been promised Money, but none came. *De Giac*, who had the Management of the Treasury, was in no haste to send it, not being at all sorry to see him a little mortified. He was afraid that if the Constable gained any Reputation at this Siege, he would grow more haughty and enterprizing, and take upon him to rule the Court as he pleased. Mean while, the Army diminished every Day by Desertions. This unlucky Accident vexed the *Constable* to the Heart, apprehensive as he was that his Reputation would be shipwrecked in the very first notable Action he undertook. At last, he received false Intelligence that the *English* were drawing all their Forces together, in order to raise the Siege. The Fear he was under of being disgraced, made him resolve to storm the Town, though the Breach was not yet large enough, or sufficiently prepared. Mean while, to secure himself against the Relief he was afraid of, he detached Two Thousand Men, with Orders to post themselves in the Road to *Auranche*, and oppose the first Efforts of the Enemies, in case they should come during the Assault. Then he caused the Breach to be vigorously attacked. But the Garrison, which was very strong, made so brave a Resistance, as gave the Besiegers but small hopes of being Masters of it. Whilst they were fighting on both Sides with equal Bravery, the two Thousand Men hearing no News of the Enemy, and imagining it was dishonourable to stand idle, whilst the rest were engaged, hastily returned to assist at the Assault. Their coming threw the Besiegers into a Panick Fear. They fancied that the Detachment being driven back by the Enemies were flying for Refuge to the Camp, and in this Belief left off storming. The *Constable* did all he could to undeceive them; but they were already in so great Disorder,

that

1426. *He receives a great Mortification.*

1426.

He takes
two Towns
in Anjou.

He causes
De Giac to
be strang-
led,

and assassi-
nates Beau-
lieu.

The King
refuses to
see him.

that it was not possible for him to make them renew the Fight. In the mean Time the Besieged seeing the Confusion the Camp was in, sallied out, and falling on a sudden upon Troops already in a Fright, easily put them to Rout. The *Constable* himself was forced to follow them and leave his Baggage and Artillery in the Hands of his Enemies, extremely concerned to see all his Projects confounded by this unlucky Accident. However, as he had not lost many of his Men, he found himself in a Condition, after drawing his Army together, to march into *Anjou*, and take *la Flèche* and *Galerande*, which belonged to the *English*.

The taking of these two Places was not however capable of comforting him for the fatal Blow he had received before *St. James*. He openly accused *De Giac* of having been the Occasion of it, and resolved to be revenged of him, without troubling himself about the King's Resentment. He was no sooner returned to Court after the Campaign, which the Desertion of his Troops had obliged him to put an End to sooner than he would have done, but he caused *de Giac* to be seized in his Bed, and by a Sentence as violent as irregular and rash, ordered him to be strangled, and then thrown into the *Loire*. After which, he had the Boldness to give out that he would serve in the same manner any Person whatever that should endeavour to ingross the King's Favour. *Le Camus de Beau lieu* not being terrified at these Threats, and having accepted *de Giac*'s Place, which was offered him, the *Constable* had him assassinated in the King's own Palace, and even before his Eyes. His Pride could not bear any Person at Court that was not his Creature. By the Way, this monstrous Arrogance ill agrees with the excessive Commendations that are bestowed on this Prince.

Charles was so provoked at these haughty Proceedings, that he would not see the *Constable*. He could not so much as hear him mentioned without Horror. But his Displeasure was but little minded by a Man who had for him both the Nobles and People. In the wretchd State the King's Affairs were in, every one thought he did him a Favour to serve him. Upon the least Disgust all threatned to leave him and go over to the *English*, who received with open

Arms

Arms those that were willing to submit to their King. 1426.
 Besides, it was now a Month since the Earl of *Warwick*
 blocked up *Montargis*, and the King had no other Way to
 relieve that Place, but by the Help of the *Bretons*. Where-
 fore notwithstanding the outrageous Affronts he had re-
 ceived from the *Constable*, he gave Leave, at the Instance
 of *La Trimouille*, that this proud Prince should pay his
 Respects to him. But his Affairs were not a jot the bet-
 ter for it.

But Necessity obliges him to it.

Whilst the Duke of *Bedford* was in *England*, the Earl of *Warwick* who commanded in *France*, did all that lay in his Power to keep the Affairs of the *English* in a good Posture. He found himself at first too weak to oppose the *Constable's* entering *Normandy*. But upon News that the *British* Army had disbanded themselves because there was no Money to pay them, he thought himself able to make some Attempt. With a Body of five Thousand Men he entered *Maine*, and retook several Castles which the *Bretons* had seized. The surprizing of Places was then so frequent, that sometimes the same Town changed Sides twice or thrice in one Year. But there would be no End if one should give an Account of every Particular. The Earl of *Warwick* seeing that the *Constable's* Defeat before *St. James's*, the Desertion of his Troops, and the Broils in *Charles's* Court, disabled the *French* from having an Army in the Field, formed a Design to become Master of *Montargis*. This Place was necessary for the Execution of the Scheme which the Regent had laid, of carrying the War beyond the *Loire*. Indeed the *English* General could not expect to carry *Montargis* by a Siege in Form with the few Troops he had. But he was in Hopes that the Place being closely blocked up, would be forced to surrender before it could be relieved. The River *Loire* parting into three Branches near this Town, there was a Necessity to divide the Troops into three different Quarters, the principal of which the Earl of *Warwick* commanded himself. The second was intrusted with the Earl of *Suffolk*, and the Third with *John de la Pole* his Brother. These several Quarters were joined by Bridges of Communication; and

1426.

in this Posture the *English* patiently waited till Hunger should constrain the Besieged to capitulate.

The Blockade had now lasted three Months, and King *Charles* had taken no care about relieving the Place. At length, the Besieged having sent him Word that they could hold out no longer if they were not succoured, he cast his Eyes on the *Constable* to undertake this Affair. But *Richmond*, who had no Army, refused to meddle with it, being unwilling with Troops just drawn together to expose himself to a Disgrace like that he received at *St. James's*. Upon his Refusal, the Management of this Expedition was committed to the *Bastard of Orleans*, who was to come back from *Avignon*, where he had retired with *Louvet* his Father-in-law. This young Lord, though then but Twenty-two Years of Age, had already made eight Campaigns, and upon several Occasions had given signal Proofs of his Conduct and Courage. None but a young Man would have taken such an Enterprize upon him, with only sixteen Hundred Men, against the Earl of *Warwick*, whose Reputation was equal to that of the greatest Generals.

The Besieged having notice that they were preparing to relieve them, let go their Sluices, and by that Means the *Loin* overflowed the Bridges of Communication. The *Bastard of Orleans* arriving just in the Nick of Time, thought as he could never have a better Opportunity, he should not defer a Moment to attack the Enemy before the Waters should fall. He gave half of his Troops to *La Hire* to attack *Pole's* Quarters, and with the other Half he fell upon the Earl of *Suffolk*. It was an odd sort of Battle, the Soldiers on both Sides standing up to their Middle in Water. At last, after a long Resistance, the two Quarters attacked were broke through, with the Loss of fifteen Hundred Men on the Side of the *English*, many of which were drowned in endeavouring to get over into the Earl of *Warwick's* Quarters, by Reason the Bridges were under Water. *Warwick* finding it impossible to assist his People, chose to retreat in good Order. This Action gained the *Bastard of Orleans* a great Reputation, being from that Time looked upon as a Man that would one Day become a famous General.

Ever

Ever since the latter End of the last Year, the Dukes of *Burgundy* and *Gloucester* were preparing for their single Combat, which in all Appearance had been put off by common Consent, seeing it was not fought at the Time appointed, namely, on St. *George's* Day. Though it should seem that these two Princes had nothing more to do, and that the Decision of the Affair of *Hainault* was to depend on the Issue of their Combat, yet the Duke of *Burgundy* did not think himself obliged to confound his personal Quarrel with the Affair, or to neglect the Advantages which the Truce gave him to put the Duke of *Brabant* in Possession again of his Wife's Dominions. He no sooner saw the Duke of *Gloucester* out of *Hainault*, but he began by secret Emissaries, to cabal among the chief Men of the Country, to get them to deliver up *Jaquelina*, who continued at *Mons*. The Countess her Mother, ever a Friend to the *House* of *Burgundy*, came into the Plot, though she took care to conceal it from her Daughter. When Matters were ripe, on a sudden the Towns of *Hainault* declared for the Duke of *Brabant*; and the Earl of *St. Pol* his Brother appeared before *Mons* with an Army. Then the Magistrates of the City, pretending to be frightened by these Troops, and giving to understand that they could not alone bear the Brunt of the War, entered into Treaty with him. As all Things had been settled in private, they promised to deliver up *Jaquelina* to the Duke of *Burgundy*, till the Pope should decide the Point in Question. All this was transacted without *Jaquelina's* Knowledge, who heard nothing of it till it was too late to help it. She writ to the Duke of *Gloucester*, complaining that she had been basely betrayed: But her Complaints were to no Purpose. On the 13th of *June* 1426 she was forced to go from *Mons*, under the Conduct of the Prince of *Orange*, who guarded her as far as *Gant*, where she was to make her Abode. After that, all *Hainault* unanimously received the Duke of *Brabant* for Sovereign.

Jaquelina was at her Wit's End to see herself thus a Prisoner. But perceiving that Resistance would but make Matters worse, she made as if she were pleased that her Af-

1426.
Continuation of the
Affair of
Hainault

Jaquelina
given up to
the Duke of
Burgundy:

1426. fair was left to the Pope's Determination. Her Diffimulation procured her a mild and honourable Treatment, of which she knew how to make a good use. In September she found Means to escape in Man's Cloaths, and retire into *Holland*. She was well received by some of her Subjects, whilst others chose rather to stick to the Duke of *Burgundy*, being sensible that it would be a hard Matter to stand by her against so potent an Enemy. The Duke, very much vexed that his Prey had thus taken Wing, carried the War into *Holland*, to the end he might hinder her from fortifying herself in that Country. This War, which has nothing to do with our History, lasted the whole Year 1427 and Part of 1428. I shall relate the Issue of it hereafter, and in the mean Time must return to what was doing in *France*.

1427. Weakness
of both
Parties in
France.

The Earl of *Warwick's* Loss before *Montargis*, and the great Number of Garrisons which it was necessary to maintain in the fortified Places, prevented his keeping the Field. Besides the Duke of *Bedford* had ordered him to husband his Troops against an important Expedition which it was not proper yet to discover. All this while *Charles* was in no better Condition. The Advantage his Troops had lately gained, had not augmented his Forces. Thus both Sides were forced to stand still, or at least to content themselves with attempting to surprize some Towns.

The Duke
of Suffolk
is surprized
in
Mans, and
relieved by
Talbot.

In the Beginning of this Year the Earl of *Foix*, who had at length espoused the Side of King *Charles*, sent him a Body of Troops under the Command of the Earl of *Orval* of the *House of Albret*. This General having approached *Mans*, where the Earl of *Suffolk* was with a few Soldiers, held Intelligence with some of the Burghers, who promised to deliver up the City. Accordingly he was let in, and the Earl of *Suffolk* found himself constrained to retreat into the Castle, where he had but three Days Provisions. In this Extremity he sent to *Talbot* who was at *Alençon*, desiring him to use his Endeavours to relieve him. *Talbot* lost not a Moment. By the next Night, he was with some Troops at the Foot of the Castle, towards the Country, and entered at a Postern-Gate, whilst d'Or-

val

val thought himself safe in the City, never imagining that the Besieged could be so soon relieved. At Break of Day, *Suffolk* and *Talbot* sallied out of the Castle, and taking the *French* unprepared, drove them before them quite out of the City. Thus the Place was almost as soon recover'd as lost, by the extraordinary Diligence of *Talbot*, one of the bravest and most experienced Leaders of the Age.

1427.

After this Expedition, the two Generals marched to *Laval* a little Town in *Maine*, and carried it with ease. Then having joined the Earl of *Warwick* who was marching towards these Parts, they altogether besieged *Pontorson*, which the Constable *Richmond* had taken last Year. As this Siege lasted a pretty while, I shall leave the Generals there, in order to relate what passed elsewhere.

Suffolk
and *Talbot*
take *Laval*.

The Duke of *Bedford* was returned from *England* in the Beginning of this Year, according to the *English* Writers, or some Months sooner if we may believe the *French*, with a Reinforcement which rendered him formidable. The Bishop of *Winchester* was come along with him, and had received at *Calais* the Cardinal's Cap, which was given with great Ceremony. It appears by several Pieces in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, that he was generally stiled the Cardinal of *England*, doubtless on account of his being of the Royal Family. And yet the *English* Authors seem to have been ignorant of this Circumstance, since they always call him only the Cardinal of *Winchester*. I shall give him the same Title for the future, in Conformity to other Historians, who mention him only by that Name. Shortly after the Bishop was made the Pope's Legate for *England*, and by that Means had an Opportunity to increase his Riches and Credit, to the great Prejudice of the Duke of *Gloucester* his Enemy.

The Duke
of *Bedford*
returns to
France.

The Bishop
of *Win-*
chester
made a
Cardinal.

The Siege of *Pontorson* was still carrying on, without King *Charles's* being able to succour that Town. He had then Affairs of much greater Moment upon his Hands, and which touched him more nearly. The Constable *Richmond* was withdrawn to *Vannes* in *Bretagne*, extremely disgusted at the King's daily Coldness to him. Since his receiving the Constable's Sword, he had done nothing to an-

Richmond
withdraws
from Court.

swer

1427.

La Tri-
mouille.
the only
Favourite.

A League
against
him.

A Civil
War upon
his Ac-
count end-
ed by the
Duke of
Alençon.

swer the mighty Matters he had made the World expect from his Valour and Abilities. On the contrary, instead of having set the King upon a better Foot, he had rendered the Royal Authority so contemptible, by his proud and violent Doings, that *Charles* was, as one may say, less a King than he was before. The Princes and Great Men at Court copied after his Example, and took upon them to give Law to their Sovereign. Since the Death of *Beaulieu*, *la Trimouille* was the sole Favourite, and had so great an Ascendant over the King, that nothing was done but by his Directions. The *Constable* imagined at first he should be a Gainer by this Change, because the new Favourite had always professed great Friendship for him. But he was quickly convinced of the contrary. The ill Treatment the former *Ministers* had received at his Hands, made this apprehensive of being served in the same Manner, and therefore he omitted nothing that might help to foment the King's Aversion for him. The whole Court quickly perceived it, and were extremely concerned at it. The Great Men could have no Prospect of Preferments unless the King's Affairs were in a good Situation, and they were persuaded that the *Constable* alone was capable of restoring them. For this and several other Reasons, *la Trimouille* grew exceeding odious. Their Hatred was carried to that Height, that at last a Confederacy was formed against him, of which the Earl of *Clermont* and the Earl of *March* his Cousin were the Heads. They began with an Attempt upon his Life, after the Example of *Richmond*. Having notice that the King was gone to *Loches*, and had left *la Trimouille* at *Bourges*, they drew some Troops together, and marched thither in order to seize the Favourite. But they found he was already gone after the King. However not to lose their Labour entirely, they resolved to carry away *La Borde* and *De Prie*, two of his Creatures, who were retired into the Great Tower. *De Prie* was killed in defending himself, but *La Borde* held out till the King himself came to relieve him. This Affair turned to a downright Civil War, which after it had lasted some Months, was at length ended by the Mediation of the Duke of *Alençon*. This

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young Prince, who had been taken Prisoner at the Battle of *Vernueil*, was just released by the Intercession of the Duke of *Burgundy*, who, though an Enemy of King *Charles*, sought all Occasions to gain the Friendship of the *French* Princes. But it had cost the Duke of *Alençon* two Hundred Thousand Crowns, a very considerable Sum at all Times, but especially at the Time we are speaking of. To procure this Money, he was forced to put off his Jewels, and sell the Duke of *Bretagne* the Town of *Fougeres*, at a very low Rate. In return for the Service he had just done the King, *Charles* made him a Present of four and twenty Thousand Crowns, though he himself was in great Want. Mean while *la Trimouille* still kept his Post at Court.

1427.

Whilst *Charles* was taken up with quelling his Domestic Enemies, the Duke of *Bedford* was intent upon executing a Design which he had formed before he left *England*. And that was to reduce the Duke of *Bretagne* to the Obedience of King *Henry*. Ever since *June* he had caused *Pontorson* to be besieged, a strong Town lying upon the Borders of *Bretagne*, which might have been a great Obstacle to his entering that Dukedom, if it had continued in the Hands of the *French*. This Siege, which had lasted a good while, being over, the Duke of *Bedford* repaired to the Army with a Reinforcement which made it Twenty Thousand strong. With this powerful Body, against which he knew his Enemies had nothing like it to oppose, he prepared to enter *Bretagne*, threatening the Country with utter Destruction. Whether the Duke of *Bretagne* was taken unawares, or whether he was glad to have an Excuse to quit King *Charles's* Side, which he had espoused purely out of Condescension to the *Constable* his Brother, he wisely prevented the impendent Danger. He was very sensible that *Charles* was not in a Condition to protect him. Besides, he was displeased with him on the *Constable's* Score. Upon these Accounts, he sent Ambassadors to the Duke of *Bedford* to sue for Peace upon what Terms he pleased.

The Duke
of Bedford
marches
against the
Duke of
Bretagne.

He obliges
him to a-
bandon
King
Charles.

Though

1427.

A. 7. Pub.
X. 378.

Though the Regent had it in his Power to be revenged of the Duke of *Bretagne*, he thought it his Duty to prefer the Interest of the King his Nephew to the gratifying his Passion. The Truth is, it was much better for the King to make of the Duke of *Bretagne* a willing Friend, by treating him civilly, than a private Enemy by using him rigorously. So that he required nothing more of him than to swear to the *Peace of Troye*, and cause all his *States* to do the same, pursuant to the Engagement he had already entered into with *Henry V.* and that he should promise with an Oath to do Homage to young *Henry* when called upon. These easy Terms had a very good Effect upon the Duke of *Bretagne*, who ever after proved a Friend to the *English*, even whilst their Affairs were upon the decline. On the other Hand, though the Regent plainly perceived he could expect no great Matters from the Duke of *Bretagne*, by Reason of the Influence the *Constable* his Brother had over him, yet he thought the bringing off that Prince from *Charles's* Party, was a very good Thing for the *English*.

Continuation and
End of the
Affair of
Hainault.

I left the Duke of *Burgundy* at War with *Faquelina* in *Holland*, under the specious Pretence of defending the Honour and Interest of the Duke of *Brabant* his Cousin, though in reality it was only for his own private Views, as will appear hereafter. This War, as may be imagined, did not turn much to *Faquelina's* Advantage. There was too great a Disproportion between the two Parties. The Duke of *Gloucester* was not able of himself to give his Dutcheſs the Assistance ſhe ſtood in need of. In order to that it was neceſſary either to employ the Publick Revenues of *England*, or procure an extraordinary *Subſidy* of the Parliament. But it was no eaſy Matter to obtain this, at a Time when the War in *France* was a great Charge to the Nation. However in the Parliament which was held this Year, the Duke had Intereſt enough to get a ſmall Aid. It appears by the *Collection of the Publick Acts* that the Parliament petition'd the King to aſſign the Duke of *Gloucester* the Sum of four Thouſand Marks out of the *Subſidy* granted him, that he might aſſiſt his Dutcheſs. To this Sum the King advanced five Thouſand Marks upon the Salary annexed

Book

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annexed to the Protectorship. With this Aid the Duke sent a Supply of some *English* Troops, under the Command of *Silvartier* *. But these Troops being defeated by the Duke of *Burgundy* just after their Landing, *Faquelina* found herself reduced to a wretched Pass. At last, by the Intercession of the Duke of *Bedford* she obtained a Truce, during which the Duke of *Gloucester* was brought to consent, that his Affair with the Duke of *Brabant* should be decided by the Pope. It must be observed, that the Duke of *Bedford* had already broke off the single Combat between the Dukes of *Burgundy* and *Gloucester*. Some Time after the Pope published his Sentence, whereby he annulled *Faquelina's* Marriage with the Duke of *Gloucester*, and confirmed her first Marriage with the Duke of *Brabant*, who survived but a few Months this Determination, and was succeeded by the Earl of *St. Pol* his Brother. By the Death of the Duke her Husband, *Faquelina* ought to have had peaceable Possession of her Dominions. But the Duke of *Burgundy* discovered on this Occasion, that the late Duke of *Brabant's* Interest was not the Thing that had set him so eagerly at work. He ordered Matters so, that *Faquelina's* Subjects refused to receive her, and he made himself Mediator between them. The sharing of the Lion in the Fable was literally put in Practice in this Accommodation. The Duke obliged *Faquelina* to commit to him the Government of her Dominions, to appoint him her Heir, and tye herself up from ever marrying again.

*Duke of
Brabant
dies.*

*The Duke
of Burgun-
dy secures
Jaquel-
in's in-
heritance.*

All the Historians generally fix these Occurrences to the Year 1427. And yet it appears by a Piece in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, that this Affair was not ended *May* the 8th, 1428. At least the Duke of *Gloucester* and *Faquelina* had not yet acquiesced to the Pope's Sentence, since in that *Act*, *Henry VI* speaking of this Princess, calls her, *Faquette* Dutcheſs of *Gloucester* and *Holland*, his well-beloved Aunt. In all Appearance the Death of the Duke of *Brabant* had put them in hopes they should be able to get their Marriage confirmed, or obtain a Dispensation to marry

* Baker says, the Lord *Fitz-Walter*.

1427. again. It was likewise on this Account doubtless, that the Duke of *Burgundy* exacted from *Jaquelina* the Conditions before-mentioned, that he might take from the Duke of *Gloucester* all Prospect of ever setting Foot again in the *Low-Countries*. However, the Duke of *Gloucester*, pressed by the Duke his Brother and the Council, who plainly saw how prejudicial to the King's Affairs his Obstinacy would be, dropped his Pretensions. He relinquished *Jaquelina*, and shortly after married *Eleonor Cobham**, whom he had long kept as his *Mistress*. Thus ended the Quarrel which had proved so fatal to *England*.

Duke of
Gloucester quits
Jaquelina,
and mar-
ries *Elea-
nor Cob-
ham*.

Continua-
tion of *Ja-
quelina's*
Affairs.

Though the *English* no longer concerned themselves with the Affairs of *Jaquelina*, it will not however be amiss to relate the Issue in a few Words, and show at the same Time, how the *House* of *Burgundy* rose to great Power. This Princess, in spite of her extorted Engagement, married afterwards one *Borsel* a *Zelander*, which obliged the Duke of *Burgundy* to make War upon them. *Borsel* being made Prisoner, *Jaquelina* was fain in order to free him, to agree that the Children which she should have by her late Marriage should be incapable of inheriting her Dominions, and that she should give up all her Strong-Holds to the Duke of *Burgundy*. She lived ten Years longer, and after her Death, the Duke of *Burgundy* was acknowledged for Earl of *Hainault*, *Holland*, *Zeland*, and Lord of *Frisland*. Before *Jaquelina's* Death, he had taken Possession of the Earldoms of *Zutphen* and *Namur*, which he had purchased on Condition not to enjoy them till after the Decease of the Earl of *Namur*, which happened in 1428. In 1430 he inherited the Dutchies of *Brabant*, *Lothier*, *Limbouurg*, and the Marquisate of *Antwerp* by the Death of *Philip* Duke of *Brabant* his Cousin, who left no Issue. All these Dominions joined to *Flanders*, *Artois*, the two *Burgundies*, and the Towns lying on the *Somme*, which he held of the King of *England*, set him upon a Level with Crown'd Heads. Let us return now to the War in *France*.

The

* Daughter to *Reginald* Lord *Cobham* of *Sturborough*. Dugdale

The *English* had still much the Odds of King *Charles*. 1428.
 Though the Business of *Hainault* had put their Affairs *Superiority*
 in some Disorder, they were however, maugre that Di- *of English*
 version, in so flourishing a Condition, as seemed to pro- *in France.*
 mise certain Success. The Duke of *Bretagne* no longer
 gave them any Uneasiness. The Earl of *Richmond* his
 Brother was at Variance with King *Charles*, without any
 Appearance of their ever being reconciled. The Duke
 of *Burgundy*, clear of the *Holland* War, could for the fu-
 ture powerfully assist his Allies. In short, besides the
 numberless Garrisons they had in the Kingdom, the Regent
 had on Foot a Body of twenty Thousand Men, and ex-
 pected a strong Reinforcement which the Earl of *Salisbury*
 was to bring him from *England*.

On the other Hand, King *Charles* was without Allies, *The ill*
 and upon his last Legs. It is true, that in order to ob- *State of*
 tain Succours from *Scotland*, he had set on Foot a Treaty *K. Charles.*
 of Marriage between the Dauphin his Son, and *Margaret*
 Daughter of King *James*, though they were both Chil-
 dren. But this was a distant Prospect. Besides the King
 of *Scotland* had made no Step which might discover that he
 was inclined to break the Truce with the *English*. Thus
Charles seeing no manner of likelihood of being able to
 stand upon his Defence, seemed to have entirely given over
 all Care of preventing the Designs of his Enemies. He
 lived on in a surprizing Indolence, without losing any of
 his usual Diversions.

The Consideration of the Posture the Affairs of the two *Assembly*
 Nations were in, made the Duke of *Bedford* conclude, that *of the chief*
 the War would soon be at an End, and that two or three *Men at*
 Campaigns would infallibly drive *Charles* out of the King- *Paris.*
 dom. He resolved therefore to exert his utmost, whilst
 so fair an Opportunity offered. But as he had a great ma-
 ny Troops, it was necessary in the first Place to provide
 for their Subsistence. With this View he held an Assem-
 bly of the chief Men at *Paris*, to whom he proposed the
 re-assuming all the Grants made to the *Church* for forty
 Years last past. But he met with so strong Opposition
 from the *Clergy*, that not to alienate the Affections of so
 Vol. V. M m 2 powerful

1428.

The Earl of
Warwick
made Go-
vernour to
the King.
Act. Pub.
X. 399.

powerful a Body, he was fain to desist, and obliged to make use of other Means for the Maintenance of his Army.

Before he set about the Execution of his Projects, he lost the Assistance of the brave Earl of *Warwick*, who returned to *England*, being appointed Governour to the King. He was designed for this Place immediately after the Death of the Duke of *Exeter* in 1426. But as his Presence was necessary in *France*, his *Patent* was not drawn up till *June* the 1st this Year. In all likelihood they had a Mind to stay till the Earl of *Salisbury* who was to bring a strong Supply to the Duke of *Bedford* should be ready to set out.

The Earl of
Salisbury
arrives
with 5000
Men.
ibid.
p. 392.

The Re-
gent's Le-
ign.

The Earl of *Salisbury* arrived in *France* in *July*, with a Body of about five Thousand Men which he had raised at his own Charge, pursuant to certain Articles entered into with the Council. Upon his coming to *Paris*, the Regent conferred on him the Command of an Army of sixteen Thousand Men. These were more than enough to be Master of the Field, King *Charles* not being able to set on foot a Body of Troops like that. The Regent's Design was to drive *Charles* beyond the *Loire*, well knowing that when once that Prince was at a Distance, all the Towns he still kept on this Side the River would surrender of Course for want of Succours. To this End, there was a Necessity of taking from him the Places which served to keep up the Communication with the northern Provinces, that all hopes of returning might be cut off.

Salisbury
marches
towards
the Loire.

It was with this View that the Earl of *Salisbury*, in Company with the Earl of *Suffolk*, *Talbot*, *Falstaff*, and several other famous Leaders, marched towards the *Loire* in the Beginning of *August*. *Orleans* was the most important Place in those Parts. It belonged to the Duke of *Orleans*, who was Prisoner in *England* since the Battle of *Azincourt*. I have already taken notice that the pretended Treaty made between *Henry V.* and the Duke of *Orleans* about the neutrality of this City, is a mere Fiction. It was invented purely to render the Siege of *Orleans* odious to the World, and to make it believed that Heaven was pleased to interpose in Favour of *France*, and punish the pretended Breach

of

of Faith in the *English*. However, the Earl of *Salisbury* having held a great Council of War, it was resolved to besiege *Orleans*. It appears by a Piece in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, that this Resolution was taken without the Duke of *Bedford's* Knowledge, and contrary to his Opinion. To succeed in this Undertaking, the neighbouring Places which might annoy the Besiegers, were first to be secured. The doing this took up the Months of *August* and *September*. During that Space the *English* became Masters of *Jenville*, *Mehun*, *Baugeniy*, *Gergeau*, *Clery*, *Sully*, and some other small Towns, and at length they appeared before *Orleans* on the 12th of *October*.

The *French* easily perceived by all the Proceedings of the *English* General that he had a Design to lay Siege to *Orleans*. Accordingly, whilst he was employed elsewhere, they had sent thither both Men and Amunition. *Gauconr*, a Creature of the Duke of *Orleans*, commanded there, though he was still a Prisoner of the *English*, who had only released him upon Parole, in order to afford him Means to provide his Ransom. He had even been recalled ever since *June*. The Bastard of *Orleans*, *d'Orval*, *La Hire*, *Xaintrailles*, *Thouars*, *Boussac*, *Chabannes*, *La Fayette*, *Granville*, and several other Officers of Note, had thrown themselves into the City, on purpose to acquire Reputation in the Service of their Sovereign.

The *English* Army not being numerous enough to invest the City on all Sides, the Besiegers received Succours in the very Beginning of the Siege. But the Earl of *Salisbury*, who looked on this Enterprize as a decisive Blow for the King his Master and his own Reputation, omitted nothing to deprive the Besieged of this Advantage. He caused to be run up round the City sixty Forts or Redoubts, then called *Bastilles*. How great soever this Work might be, nothing could divert him from it, seeing the Success of the Siege entirely depended upon it. In vain would he have pushed his Attacks, if the Enemies had been able to let in continually fresh Succours. Besides, the Season which was very far advanced, made him sensible he should

1428.
The Siege of
Orleans
resolved.
Act. Pub.
X. 480.

The French
lay in stores
Act. Pub.
X. 402.

The Be-
siegers raise
Forts about
the City to
prevent
Succours.

1428.

should be forced to pass the Winter in the Camp, and that during that Time he should be liable to many Insults.

Among the sixty Forts, there were six much stronger than the rest upon the six principal Avenues of the City. Before these Forts were built, the *French* could with ease throw Succours into the Place, and had done so very often. But afterwards, it was not without extreme Difficulty that they could now and then give some Assistance to the Besieged. Upon these six great Redoubts the General erected Batteries which thundered against the Walls. But as the *Ordnance* was not then brought to the Perfection it is in at present, it must not be imagined that the Cannons did the Execution they do in our Time.

It would be too long to relate all the Particulars of this Siege, the Attacks, Sallies, and daily Skirmishes either to get in or drive back the Convoys. One may easily judge, that one of the strongest Places of *France*, defended by a numerous Garrison, under the Conduct of some of the bravest and most experienced general Officers then in *France*, and assaulted by *Englishmen*, who were deemed the most undaunted Warriors in the World, furnished the Besiegers and Besieged with frequent Occasions to exercise their Valour.

Charles
comes to
Chinon.

Charles plainly saw that the taking of *Orleans* would deprive him of the Advantage he had hitherto had of keeping up the War in the Northern Provinces of the Kingdom. But as he found himself without Men and Money, he was in no Condition to raise the Siege. However, he drew near it and came to *Chinon*, where he convened the chief Men, and obtained an Aid of Money. Whilst he was in this Place, the Constable *Richmond* made him an offer of his Service. But in what Distress soever he might be, and how great Need soever he stood in of a speedy Assistance, he could not bring himself to pardon him.

The Eng-
lish become
Masters of
the Bul-
wark,

Mean while, the Siege was carried on with a great deal of Vigour. The Bulwark of *Tournelles* * being very much shaken by the Besiegers Cannon, and the Besieged

having

* The Place where the Parliament sits to hear criminal Causes.

having thought proper to set it on fire, the *English* extinguished the Flames, and lodged themselves in that Post. 1428.

At the same time they became Masters of the Tower on the Bridge, from whence they could overlook the whole City. *and of the Tower on the Bridge.*

The taking this Tower proved fatal to the Earl of *Salisbury*. One Day, as he was looking out of a Window, *The Earl of Salisbury* a Cannon-shot from the City hit him as it passed on the right Side of his Head, carried off his Cheek, and struck out *slain.*

one of his Eyes. He died a few Days after at *Melun*, whither he had been removed *. This Loss, though very great to the *English*, interrupted not the Siege a Moment. The Earl of *Suffolk* having taken the Command of the Army, continued the Attacks as vigorously as before, assisted by *Talbot* one of the bravest and most experienced Captains of his Age.

There was nothing every Day but Assaults, Sallies, *The Garrison and Army both increased during the Siege.* continual Skirmishes; wherein the Besieged behaved with equal Bravery and Conduct. In spite of the Precautions the *English* had used to prevent Succours from being thrown into the City, Troops and Convoys got in however from time to time, though it was always by dint of Sword. Thus

the Garrison which at first consisted but of Twelve Hundred Men, was become Three Thousand strong by the latter End of *December*. On the other Hand, the Army of the Besiegers was increased to Three and Twenty Thousand by the Supplies the Regent never ceased sending. So that the Siege daily grew more important and difficult.

The *English* had now been four Months before *Orleans*, 1429. and no one was yet able to judge what the Issue would be. *The Battle of Herrings.* The Regent, who began to be uneasy at the length of the Siege, was confirmed more and more in his Opinion that they had undertaken it too rashly. However, to omit nothing that lay in his Power, he sent from *Paris* a Convoy of Salt-Fish, the Lent-Season of the Year 1429 being come. He left

* *Thomas Montacute* Earl of *Salisbury*, died November 3 without Issue-Male, leaving only one Daughter, who was married to *Richard Nevil*, Son of the Earl of *Westmoreland*, who upon *Montacute's* Death was styled Earl of *Salisbury*. His Widow was married afterwards to the Earl of *Suffolk*. *Dugdale.*

1429. left the Conduct of it to *Falstaff*, one of the bravest and most able Generals the *English* then had, and gave him a Guard of Seventeen Hundred Men. *Charles* having notice of the Day the Convoy was to set out from *Paris*, resolved to way-lay it. He commissioned the Earl of *Clermont* to this Purpose, who at the Head of Three Thousand Men attacked the Convoy on the Road to *Orleans*, *February* the 12th, at Seven a-Clock in the Morning. *Falstaff* having had Intelligence of the Approach of the *French*, had made an Intrenchment with his Carriages, behind which he had taken shelter in order to withstand their first Charge, which was indeed very vigorous; but the *English* bore it with such Resolution, that far from being broken by the first Shock, they put their Enemies into extreme Disorder by the great Slaughter they made of them. As soon as *Falstaff* saw the Confusion they were in, he ordered the Carriages to be removed which surrounded his People; and falling upon the *French* Troops already disheartened, he entirely routed them with great Slaughter. Six-score Lords or Officers of Note fell that Day, besides abundance of Common Soldiers. The Bastard of *Orleans*, who had sallied out to assist the Earl of *Clermont* in defeating the Convoy, having preserved a Presence of Mind in this Rout, found Means to re-enter the City with four Hundred Men. This Action was called *The Battle of Herrings*.

Offer of
surrendering
Orleans to
the Duke of
Burgundy.

King *Charles* was extremely cast down upon News of this Defeat. He saw himself upon the Point of losing *Orleans*, and was sensible of the Consequences of the Loss. The Thoughts of seeing the *English* ravage the Provinces beyond the *Loire*, and by that Means disable him from continuing the War, could not but trouble him exceedingly. This Misfortune would infallibly follow upon their being Masters of *Orleans*. In this Distress he bethought himself of an Expedient, which he imagined would rob them of this Advantage, not questioning but they would be so blind as not to see through his Artifice. This was to send to the commanding Officer a Power to deliver the Place into the Hands of the Duke of *Burgundy*, for him to keep in trust

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Trust till the War was at an End. *Xaintrailles* and others, who were appointed to treat of this Affair, being come to *Paris*, made the Duke of *Bedford* the Offer, who laughed at the Stratagem. He plainly told them, they were very much mistaken if they took him for a Man to beat the Bush for another to run away with the Game. Some say, the Duke of *Burgundy* was extremely nettled at this Reply, and even withdrew his Troops from the Siege. But this is a mere Invention. The Duke of *Burgundy* had no reason to complain that the Regent should refuse to deliver a Place of that Importance to him, on purpose to humour his Enemies. Besides, we shall see presently, that the Regent was all along very well satisfied with the Duke of *Burgundy* both during the Siege and after.

Charles not being able to succeed in his Project, and seeing no other way to save *Orleans*, began to think of retiring into *Dauphiné*, when a very extraordinary Accident gave a sudden Turn to the Affairs of the two contending Nations. We are about to see the strangest and most unexpected Revolution that ever was mentioned in History. The *French* from vanquished, are going to be on a sudden victorious; and the *English*, who had been hitherto deemed invincible, are going to be every where worsted, and at length driven out of the Kingdom. And what is more surprizing in this Turn, is the Instrument by which it was brought about. But before I enter upon Particulars, I must warn the Reader, that in what I am going to relate concerning this strange Event, I follow the *French* Authors, without however warranting the Truth of every Thing they have advanced.

About the End of *February* 1429, a Country Girl, called *Joan of Arc*, a Village in *Danremy* in *Lorraine*, came to *Robert de Baudricourt*, Governour of *Vaucouleurs*, and told him she had received exprefs Orders from God to go and raise the Siege of *Orleans*, and to crown King *Charles* at *Rheims*. *Baudricourt* thought the Girl at first was mad; but finding that she talked very sensibly in other Cases, he thought fit to send her to the King, who was still at *Chinon*. *Charles* being informed that *Joan of Arc*

1429.
It is re-
jected.

Charles
thinks of
retiring
into Dau-
phiné.

A strange
Accident
changes
the Face
of Affairs.

An Ac-
count of
the Maid
of Orleans.

1429.

was coming to him, declared that one *Maria d' Avignon* a Nun, had formerly told him, *that Heaven would arm one of her Sex in Defence of France.* He added, that perhaps the Girl which was coming was the Person Heaven had made choice of. This was enough to satisfy the Court before-hand, that *Joan of Arc's* Calling was miraculous. This supernatural *Mission* squared also exactly with the Sentiments of the Queen, of *Agnes Sorrel* the King's Mistress, and of the principal Courtiers, who laboured all they could to divert the King from his Purpose to retire into *Dauphiné.* So that nothing could be more proper to cause him to alter his Mind than the Prospect of a lucky Turn. However, thus prepossessed, they expected the coming of *Joan of Arc.* The first Time she appeared at Court, she addressed her self directly to the King, finding him out amidst a Crowd of Courtiers, though she had never seen him, and though he had taken care to have nothing about him that might distinguish him from the rest: However, he seemed at first to make no great Account of her. But as she earnestly pressed him to give Credit to her Words, which were the same she had said to *Baudricourt*, he resolved to have her examined. The *Doctors in Divinity*, who were her Examiners, declared, upon what Ground I know not, that her *Mission* was divine. Then she was sent to the Parliament of *Poictiers*, who were of the same Opinion. Lastly, to confirm this Belief, the King gave out that she had told him Secrets which no mortal knew but himself.

Every body being thus prepossessed that *Joan of Arc*, commonly called *la Pucelle* [or the Maid] was sent from God to save *France*, she was looked upon by all with Eyes of Admiration. All her Actions, Words and Gestures were construed to her Advantage. They perceived in her a fine Genius, solid Judgment, Greatness of Soul, and a Knowledge very unusual in one of her Sex and Condition. This was the common Effect of Prejudice. Thus far there is nothing that should seem very strange. It is easy to conceive, that it might be a Contrivance to give new Life to the *French*, and perhaps to the King himself, dismayed at so many Losses, and beholding the Kingdom just going

to

to fall under the Dominion of Foreigners. But that this Trick, if it be one, should succeed according to the Design of the Authors, is what may indeed be just Ground of Admiration, and afford ample Matter for Moral and Political Reflections.

Mean while, the Siege of *Orleans* going on vigorously, *Joan marches with a Convoy to Orleans.* *Charles* resolved to try to throw a Convoy into the City. *The Maid* having desired to be one of the Company, and to have Arms and a Man's Habit, easily obtained her Request. To render herself more remarkable, she would have a certain Sword which she sent for from the Tomb of a Knight buried in the Church of *St. Catharine's* of *Fierbois*. The Convoy designed for *Orleans* set out *April* the 25th. Several *French* Writers affirm, that *the Maid* commanded the Guard, and that it was she that conducted the Convoy into the City: but *Monstrelet*, a cotemporary Author, says the contrary. The Convoy being arrived on the 29th in the Morning, near the *Burgundian* Gate, the Bastard of *Orleans* made a Sally to favour their Passage. A fierce and bloody Engagement ensued, wherein after a long Resistance the *English* were worsted, and forced to let the Convoy go in. *Joan* made her Entry into *Orleans*, surrounded with the Generals, and amidst the Acclamations of the People, who ascribed to her the good Success of that Day. *Joan enters Orleans in Triumph. She takes four of the Besiegers Forts.*

On the 4th of *May*, *the Maid* at the Head of a Detachment of the Garrison, attacked Sword in Hand the Fort of *Sr. Loup*, one of the six largest Redoubts before-mentioned. After a Conflict of four Hours, the Fort was carried, and of the Twelve Hundred *English* who defended it, Four Hundred were killed on the Spot. Two Days after, she assaulted likewise the Fort of *Sr. John*; but as the *English* had almost quitted it, she met but with little Resistance. Presently after, without giving her Troops any Respite, she led them against the Fort called *London*, the most considerable of the Six, built upon the Ruins of the Church of the *Augustines*. The gallant Resistance of the *English* hindered not this also from being taken, with great Loss on their Side. *The Maid's* Troops thought of resting themselves after so hard Duty; but immediately she

1429. marched them up to the Fort of the *Tournelles*. But as she could not attack it that Evening, for want of Day-light, she kept it invested all the Night. In the Morning at Break of Day the Assault began, and held fourteen Hours without Intermission. The *French* were beat back four several Times, and as often did they renew the Charge, the *Maid* animating them by her Words and Actions, though she was wounded with an Arrow between the Neck and Shoulders. At length, about eight a Clock at Night, the Fort was carried like the rest, and six Hundred *English* cut in Pieces. In all these Actions the *Maid* showed a Valour and Resolution very uncommon in Persons of her Sex.

The Eng-
lish raise
the Siege.

One may easily guess what a Consternation the *English* were in, after the ill Success of that Day. The Lots of four of their largest Forts not permitting them to carry on the Siege any longer, they marched off *May* the 12th, after having sat down before the Place seven whole Months.

Here is a Fragment of a Letter from the Duke of *Bedford* to the King his Nephew, after the raising of the Siege of *Orleans*, which plainly shows how much the *English* and the Duke of *Bedford* himself were disheartened at this unexpected Event.

Every Thing was prosperous here on your Side till the Siege of Orleans, undertaken by God knows what Counsels. After the Death of my Cousin of Salisbury, God rest his Soul, who it seems is cut off by the Hand of God, your Troops who were very numerous at this Siege, have received a terrible Blow. This has happened partly, as we verily believe, by the Confidence the Enemies have placed in a Hell-born Woman, a Limb of Satan, called, la Pucelle, who has made use of Inchantments and Witchcraft. This Defeat has not only diminished your Troops, but withal has bereaved the rest of Courage in an astonishing manner. Moreover she has encouraged your Enemies to draw together without Delay in great Numbers— (a)

The

(a) This Fragment, which is without Date, is placed wrong in the Collection of the Publick Acts, among the Records of the Year 1428.

The raising of the Siege of *Orleans* ushered in the decline of the Affairs of the *English*. From that time the *French* and *English* seemed to have changed Tempers and Characters. The *English* were seized with a Spirit of Fear and Amazement, whilst the *French* were filled with Courage, which they had almost quite lost since the Battles of *Azincourt* and *Vernueil*. Though after the raising of the Siege, the *French* Army exceeded not six Thousand, yet were they not afraid to pursue and push briskly the *English*, who notwithstanding they were still superior in Number, retreated in a strange Disorder. Their Consternation was so great, that they knew not as one may say, what they did. Instead of keeping together in order to make head against their Enemies, they minded nothing but throwing numerous Garrisons into the Places they had conquered before the Siege, about the *Loire*. By that means they weakned their Army to such a Degree, that they were no longer in a Condition to stand before their Enemies who were close at their Heels. As they dreaded a Battle, as much as they were wont to desire it, they retired at a good Distance, and gave the *French* Time to retake these Places one after another. The Earl of *Suffolk* was made Prisoner in *Gergeau*, where he had shut himself up, with four Hundred Men only, through an Indiscretion which could only proceed from his Consternation at the Defeat of his Troops. Of all the Places in those Parts *Baugenci* held out the longest; but could not help undergoing the same Fate with the rest. In short, Disorder and Confusion had taken such hold of the *English*, that *Charles* by the Advice of the *Maid*, resolved to go and be crowned at *Rheims*. Mean time this City was still in the Hands of the *English*. Besides, there was a necessity of traversing above one Hundred and Twenty Miles of the Enemies Country, and of taking several Places, which at any other Time he would not have ventured to approach. Strange Effect of the Terror which a Woman had inspired the *English* with, and of the Boldness she had given their Enemies.

1429.

The great
Alteration
of the
French and
English.

The English
retreat in
Disorder.

Earl of
Suffolk
made Prisoner.

Charles resolves to be
crowned at
Rheims.

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1429.
The Constable brings
him Troops.

The Constable *Richmond* seeing the flourishing Condition of the King's Affairs, began to abate of his Haughtiness. Hitherto he had imagined they stood in need of him. But what had lately happened made him perceive that he might be entirely laid aside, and should lose his share of the Glory the King in all likelihood was going to acquire. In this Belief, he drew together all his Friends, and having formed a Body of twelve Hundred *Horse*, and twelve Thousand *Foot*, he set out in order to go and join the King who was before *Baugenci*. The Duke of *Bretagne* no doubt winked at the raising these Troops in his Country, the Turn which had lately happened, causing him to alter his Measures a little. Whilst the Constable was upon his March, *La Trimouille*, who did not desire his Company at Court, found Means to persuade the King that he was coming with a numerous Army, on purpose to have his Person in his Power. This made such an Impression on the King's Mind, that he was just going to quit the Siege of *Baugenci* in order to give the Constable Battle. But having been better informed, he was pleased to receive him with the Succours he brought. It was however upon very mortifying Terms to a Prince of his Temper. It was required of him, that he should not pretend to govern the King, nor be present at the Coronation where *La Trimouille* did not care to be outshone.

The Battle
of Patay,
wherein the
English
are de-
feated,

Baugenci being taken, the King had Intelligence that the *English* were drawing together in *Beauce*. Whereupon *Charles* having called a Council of War, it was unanimously resolved to go and give them Battle. Indeed there was no likelihood of undertaking to march to *Rheims*, with their Enemies in their Rear. *Charles's* Army was then ten Thousand strong *, including the *Bretons* which the Constable had brought. But of the Twenty-two Thousand *English*, which had been before *Orleans*, there were left but six Thousand with *Talbot*, who had taken the Command of the Army.

* Here must be some Mistake either in the Author or the Printer, since *Rapin* says above, the *Bretons* alone were thirteen Thousand two Hundred.

Army, upon the Earl of *Suffolk's* being made Prisoner. Thro' the prodigious Amazement the *English* were under since the Affair of *Orleans*, they suffered themselves to be surprized near *Patay* by the *French* Army, which appeared in Sight before they knew any Thing of the Matter. They had scarce time to draw up in Order of Battle. Which was done in such Hurry and Confusion that they made but a very faint Resistance. *Talbot* alone maintained the Fight for some time by his Valour and Conduct. But at length the General being taken Prisoner, the *English* Army was put to Flight with the Loss of two Thousand five Hundred Men. *Falstaff* suffered himself to be hurried along with the Run-a-ways, seized by one of those sudden Fits of Terror, which for the Time deprive a man of the use of his Reason, and which may happen to persons of the greatest Courage.

1429.

and *Talbot*
made Pri-
soner.

If the raising of the Siege of *Orleans* had given a great Check to the Affairs of the *English*, the Defeat at *Patay* was a no less stunning and fatal Blow to them. The Regent saw himself forced to keep within the Walls of *Paris*, being unable to appear in the Field in order to oppose the Progress of his Enemies. Mean while *Charles* improved these Advantages. *Lewis* III Duke of *Anjou* and King of *Sicily* his Brother-in-law, being returned from *Naples* where he had made a long stay, brought him just after the Battle of *Patay* a Supply of several brave Officers who had attended him into *Italy*, and were come back with him to *France*.

The Duke of
Bedford
shuts him-
self up in
Paris.

The King of
Sicily joins
Charles.

As King *Charles's* Party encreased, in proportion as his Affairs became more prosperous, he took at *Gien* a Review of his Troops, and found they were augmented to 15000 Men. He gave the Command of Part of them to the *Constable*, to go and make a Diversion in *Normandy*, or rather on purpose to send him at a Distance under that honourable Pretence, that he might not assist at the Coronation according to Agreement. The Earl of *Perdriac* had another Part with orders to go and carry the War into *Guienne*. These two Detachments made together but five Thousand Men. With the remaining ten Thousand, *Charles* took the Road to *Rheims*, well knowing there was no Army in the Field to hinder him. In going through *Burgundy* he summoned

Charles
marches to
Rheims.

Several
Towns sur-
render to
him.

Auxerre

1429.

He enters
Rheims,
and is
crowned.

Auxerre to surrender, which Place promised to follow the Example the principal Towns of *Champagne* should set her. *Troye* and *Châlon* surrendered upon the first Summons. A few Days after, the Inhabitants of *Rheims* drove the English Garrison out of the City, and sent Deputies to the King to present him with the Keys of their Gates. Thus every Thing succeeded according to his Wish. *Charles* entered *Rheims* in Triumph, and was crowned presently after. The Ceremony being over, the *Maid* would have retired, affirming, she had nothing more to do, after having executed what God had commanded. But the King pressed her so earnestly, that at length he prevailed with her to stay.

The Duke of
Gloucester
mortifies
the Cardinal of Win-
chester.

Act. Pub.
X. 414.

It is time now to see what was doing in *England*, during the fatal Revolution which had just happened in *France*. The Quarrel was still kept alive between the Duke of *Gloucester* and Bishop of *Winchester*, who was come back to *London*. As the Prelate's new Dignity rendered him more haughty than ever, the Duke of *Gloucester* made this same Dignity a Handle to give him a sad Mortification. St. *George's* Day, Patron of the most noble Order of the *Garter*, being at hand, the Cardinal was to officiate as Bishop of *Winchester*. But the Duke of *Gloucester* and his Friends opposed it, affirming, that he could not hold the Bishoprick of *Winchester* with a *Cardinalship*, without the King's express License. This Affair being brought before the Council, it was resolved, that for this time the Cardinal should not act as Bishop of *Winchester*, and two Lords were sent to give him notice of it. Next Day he came himself to the Board, and demanded upon what Ground they deprived him of his Right. He was told, that it was for fear of prejudicing the Perogatives of the Crown, and the Council persisted in the Resolve of the Day before. Hence the Cardinal saw that his Adversary's Interest was still much greater than his.

The Cardinal is made
General of
a Crusado.

Shortly after, the Prelate received a Bull from the Pope, appointing him his Legate for *Germany*, and General of a Crusado against the Hereticks of *Bohemia*. The Pope's View was to draw a powerful Aid from *England* against the

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the *Hussies* *. Nay it is very likely, that as he was a great Friend to King *Charles*, his Design was to weaken *England*, by draining the Kingdom of Men and Money under Colour of the *Crusado*. However, the *Cardinal* having received the *Bull* in the Beginning of *June* this Year, though it was dated *March* the 18th, 1427-8, presented to the King and Council a *Petition*, desiring Leave to publish the *Crusado*. He prayed likewise, that he might have Power to levy in *England* Five Hundred *Lances*, and Five Thousand *Archers*, and to appoint the Generals and Officers of this Army. His *Petition* having been examined in Council, it was resolved to grant it in Part under the following Restrictions:

1429.

He petitioned to publish the *Crusado*.
Act Pub.
X. 419.

p. 420.

That no Person should be obliged to contribute any Money towards a *Crusado*, but that every one should give what they pleased. That the Sums thus voluntarily furnished, should be put into such Hands as the *Council* should nominate. That the Gold or Silver should not be exported beyond Sea, but should be expended in the Kingdom.

That the *Cardinal* should be impowered to levy only Two Hundred and Fifty *Lances*, and Two Thousand Five Hundred *Archers*. That even this should not be granted but on Condition that the Pope should have some Regard for the King and Kingdom, and not impose any Tax either on the *Laitie* or *Clergy*.

That none of the Soldiers serving in *France* should be lifted or received among the Troops of the *Crusado*.

That the *Cardinal* should give the *Council* sufficient Security for the Return of these Troops.

That he should effectually use his Interest, to induce the King of *Scotland* to leave *England* in quiet, and keep the Truce.

That in publishing the *Crusado*, it should expressly be said that it was with the King's Consent.

* There will be a large Account of these People in the History of the *Council of Basil* in the *State of the Church*, at the End of the sixth Volume.

1429.

That the Cardinal should nominate the Officers of the Troops, but that the King should commission them.

That it should be the same with regard to the *Constable* or Commander in chief of the Army.

That if the *Crusado* did not take Place, the Money furnished by private Persons should not be laid out without the King's Approbation.

New Levies for France.

One may see by these Restrictions how careful the *Council* was to hinder the Pope from exercising in the Kingdom an Authority which his Predecessors had but too much abused.

The Cardinal is to serve in France till December July.
Act. Pub.
X. 422.

Mean while, the News of the Battle of *Patay* being brought to *England*, caused a great Consternation, and made it easily conjectured, that the Regent stood in need of sudden and powerful Aid. And therefore, without losing a Moment, the Council decreed new Levies, the Command of which was designed for Sir *John Ratcliffe*. But as in the present Posture of Affairs in *France*, it would have been very imprudent to send Troops to *Bohemia*, the Council resolved to make some Alterations in what had been granted the Cardinal of *Winchester*. Upon this pressing Occasion they came to a new Agreement with him, whereby he engaged to serve in *France*, under the Duke of *Bedford*, till the End of *December*, with the Troops of the *Crusado*, provided they were not employed in any Siege.

The Duke of Bedford's Instructions to Garter.
Act. Pub.
X. 433.

A few Days after arrived from *France*, *Garter King at Arms* *, with Instructions from the Regent to inform the Council

* There are three *Kings at Arms* in *England*, namely, *Garter*, *Clarencieux*, and *Norroy*. *Garter* is the principal, instituted by *Henry V.* His Business is to attend *Knights of the Garter* at their Solemnity, and to marshal the Funerals of the Greater Nobility. *Clarencieux* was created by *Edward IV.* who upon attaining the Dukedom of *Clarence* by the Death of his Brother, made the *Herald* belonging to the Duke of *Clarence* a *King at Arms*, and called him *Clarentius*. His proper Office is to marshal the Funerals of the lesser Nobility or Gentry, on the South Side of the *Trent*. *Norroy's* Office is the same on the North Side of *Trent*, as appears by his Name, *The Northern King*. The Business of the *Heralds* is likewise to denounce War, to proclaim Peace, or to be employed in the King's Martial Messages. They are Judges also

Council how Matters stood in that Kingdom. The Substance of his *Instructions* was as follows :

I. That it was necessary to hasten the Departure of *Ratcliffe's* and the *Cardinal's* Troops, and to send the Regent notice of the precise Time of their Imbarkation.

II. That the *Dauphin* (for so the Regent called the King of *France*) was Master of *Troye*, *Châlon*, and several other Places, some of which had voluntarily surrendered. That he was to enter on that very Day, *July* the 16th, the City of *Rheims*, where he had a mind to be crowned ; and that afterwards his Intent was to exert his utmost in order to become Master of *Paris*, but that he should find it a more difficult Task than he imagined.

III. That the Duke of *Bretagne* had fully done his Duty, and that the City of *Paris* would have been lost before now had it not been for him. That he was set out that very Day for *Artois*, in order to hasten his Troops and join them with the *English* Army.

IV. That the Regent was to set out within two Days for *Normandy* and *Picardy*, where he would draw the Garisons together, and expect the Troops that were to come from *England*.

V. Lastly, The Council of *France* most heartily besought the King to come and be crowned at *Paris*.

Upon this last Article it was resolved, that the young King, now about eight Years old, should go over into *France*, and be crowned, but that first he should be crowned in *England*.

of Gentlemen's *Arms*, marshal all the Solemnities at the Coronation of Princes, &c. *Vestegan* derives the Word *Herald* from *Here* an Army, and *Healt* a Champion, as much as to say, *the Champion of the Army*. Besides the three Kings, there are six other properly called *Heralds*, as they were created to attend Dukes, &c. *Viz. York, Lancaster, Somerset, Richmond, Chester* and *Windfor*. There are Four more called *Marshals* or *Pursuivants at Arms*, who commonly succeed in the Place of *Heralds*, namely, *Blue-Manile, Rouge Cross, Rouge-Dragon*, and *Port Cullis*.

1429.
Henry
crowned
at London
The Pro-
tectorship
is suppress-
ed.

In pursuance of this Resolution, the Ceremony of the Coronation was performed on the 6th of *November*. Six Days after the Parliament, which was then assembled, ordered that the Dignity of *Protector and Defender of the Church* should be suppressed, but that the Duke of *Gloucester* should keep that of *first Counsellor to the King*. This was a very great Mortification to that Prince, who little expected any such Thing. Indeed, as the King's Coronation added nothing to his Capacity, the Kingdom seemed to require a Protector as much as ever. But it was pretended that the *Protectorship* was inconsistent with the Dignity of a crown'd Head. We shall see hereafter that this Rule was not always observed. The Duke however acquiesced with a good Grace to the Ordinance as far as it concerned him, saving to the Duke of *Bedford* his Brother his Rights.

Charles
continues
his Con-
quests.

Whilst they were taken up in *England* with preparing for the Coronation, *Charles* had carried on his Conquests with great Rapidity. And yet his own Coronation had kept him eleven Days at *Rheims*. If the Regent had then had an Army in the Field, he might easily have cooped him up in that Corner of *France*, where he had but few Places, surrounded with the Enemy's Garrisons. But the Duke was then in *Picardy* with a few Troops, expecting those that were to come from *England*. *Charles* therefore improved the Advantage which the Distance of his Enemy gave him. The Inhabitants of the *English* Towns being for the most Part well-affected to him, nothing hindered them from showing him Marks of their Inclinations. The reason is, because the Duke of *Bedford* had been constrained to weaken his Garrisons exceedingly, in order to compose an Army. This was the Cause that in a very short Space *Charles* became Master of *Soissons*, *Provins*, *Chateau Thierry*, *Crepi*, and some other Places, which did not so much as stay to be attacked, the *English* Garrisons not being strong enough to prevent the Burghers from doing as they had a mind.

Several
Places sur-
render of
their own
accord.

The Regent
marches
towards
him.

Mean time, the Duke of *Bedford* having at length received the Succours he expected, began to march in order to go and stop the Progress of his Enemy. At *Crepi*, *Charles* had

had advice that the Duke was coming to give him Battle. 1429.
 A few Days after the two Armies were very near one another on a large Plain, where nothing hindered them from coming to Blows. The Number of Troops on both Sides was pretty equal. But as the King had more Horse, *The two Armies are very near one another.* the Regent did not care to attack him. Besides, the Posture of his Affairs required that he should not fight but with odds. Upon which account, he ordered his Camp to be strongly intrenched. He was in hopes that the impetuous Humour of the *French* would cause them to commit the same Fault they had fallen into at *Vernuil*, and on several other Occasions; and that they would endeavour to force his Intrenchments, in which case he promised himself certain Victory. But he was deceived in his Expectations this time. *Charles*, grown wise by so many former Instances, was content with facing him, and trying to draw him out of his Lines, without hazarding an Attack, the Success whereof appeared too doubtful. At length, finding the *English* kept their Station, he marched off in order to push his Conquests, well knowing that most of the Towns were ready to receive him. *and part without fighting.* The Regent followed him close. But as he would run no Hazard without an apparent Advantage, he had the Mortification to see him enter *Senlis*, *Beauvais*, *Campiegne*, *Creil*, *Pont St. Maixance*, *Lagny*, *Bray*, *Gournay*, *Melun*, *Sens*. *Several Towns surrender to Charles.* All these Places opened their Gates to the King, being no longer over-aw'd by the Garrisons which the Regent had been forced to draw out.

On the other Hand, the Constable *Richmond* who was in *Normandy*, having found Means to augment his Troops to the Number of Eight Thousand Men, had taken *Evreux*, and threatned the whole Province. The Duke of *Bedford* fearing he would make a greater Progress, hastened thither immediately, not being able to bear the Thoughts of losing a Country from whence he had in a great Measure his Subsistence. *The Regent marches to the Relief of Normandy.*

Whilst the Duke of *Bedford* was employed in *Normandy*, *Charles*, Master of the Field in the *Isle of France*, approached *Paris*, and went and encamped at *Montmarire*. *Charles makes an Attempt upon Paris.* He forthwith published a general Pardon for the *Parisians*, *imagi-*

1429.

The Maid
is wound-
ed.

Lagni and
St. Dennis
taken by
the Eng-
lish.

Disposition
of the Duke
of Burgun-
dy since
the Turn of
Affairs.

imagining that disheartened at his Conquests, they would take up Arms, and drive the *English* out of the City. But the Regent had ordered Matters so well there, that not a Soul stirred. At length, finding he could expect nothing from the Citizens, he attacked the *Suburbs* of St. *Honorius*; but his Troops were beat back with great Loss. The *Maid*, who had exposed herself very much in this Assault, was wounded, and tumbled into the Ditch. Every one thought her dead; but being drawn out in the Night, she recovered of her Wounds.

The Season not permitting the two Armies to keep the Field any longer, *Charles* retired, and went and passed the Winter at *Bourges*. The Regent likewise marched back to *Paris*, after he had drove the *Constable* out of *Normandy*. During the Winter, he carried by Storm St. *Dennis* and *Lagni*, which Places very much annoyed the *Parisians*.

Before we close the Occurrences of this Year, we must not omit to show how the Duke of *Burgundy* stood affected, since the great Turn of the *English* Affairs. In how flourishing a Condition soever *Charles* might be, he was very sensible that all would not do, unless he could gain so potent an Enemy as the Duke of *Burgundy*. The Truth is, if that Prince had thought fit to assist the *English* with all his Forces, there is no question but he would have prevented this fatal Revolution. If even after the raising of the Siege of *Orleans*, he could have been brought to aid them in proportion to his Ability, he would still have turned the Scale on their Side. But he was taking other Measures. His Policy suggested to him, that by too powerfully assisting the *English*, he should have very troublesome Masters, as he had already experienced in the Business of *Hainault*. And therefore, since he was to have a Sovereign, he chose much rather to see a Prince of his Blood on the Throne of *France* than a Foreigner. But he carefully concealed his Sentiments, lest both Parties should take the Advantage of them against him. It was manifest, that in openly showing his Inclination to abandon the *English*, he would do himself great Prejudice. King *Charles* would grow less eager to come to an Agreement with him, and it may be the

Duke

Duke of *Bedford* would have endeavoured to be before-hand with him, and strike up a separate Peace with the *French* exclusive of him. This at least was what the Duke of *Burgundy* had reason to fear, considering the Posture of the Affairs of the *English*, since the Battle of *Patay*. He resolved then to keep on assisting the *English*, but in such a Manner as should give *Charles* some hopes he had abated of his Resentment. He judged rightly, that in taking this Course he should sell his Friendship at a dearer Rate, or at worst, he should be able to remain as he was, till such Terms as he wanted should be offered him. *Charles* having had some Intimation of the Disposition the Duke of *Burgundy* was in with regard to him, dispatched secret Agents to treat with him. But the Duke thought it not a proper Time yet to discover his Mind. He was apprehensive, that in case the Duke of *Bedford* should come to know it, he would without him agree with King *Charles*; whereas his Intent was to make his own Peace at the Expence of the *English*. The Sequel manifestly showed that this was his Design. Most certain it is, that he had already determined what to do, though he did not think fit to set the Negotiation so soon on Foot. A remarkable Instance how little the strongest Alliances are to be depended upon. The sad Effect of Insincerity, too common among Men, and from which Princes in particular are not free. As they cannot, notwithstanding their Treaties, trust one another, they live in continual Fear of being over-reached by their Allies. And therefore, taking it for granted that they may be abandoned, they endeavour to be before-hand, and make no scruple to break through their Engagements, upon the Prospect of any considerable Advantage. Let a Man run over all Histories as well Antient as Modern, and he will find scarce any one considerable Alliance but what was violated by some notorious Piece of Fraud.

It would be a difficult Matter to describe the Concern, Trouble, Complaints, and Murmurings in *England*, upon the Turn of Affairs in *France*. Some blamed the Generals for not having done their Duty. Others perceiving no natural Cause of so wonderful a Change, affirmed that it must

1430.
Murmur-
ings in
England.

1430.

Several find fault that the French Prisoners had not been released.

must needs have happened by the Malice of the Devil, who had made use of *the Maid* for his Instrument, and openly maintained that she was a *Witch*. In short, some there were that threw all the Blame on the *Council* and the Duke of *Gloucester*. They justly taxed them with having very unseasonably undertaken the Affair of *Hainault*, at a Time when, if all the Forces of *England* had been united against *France*, they would have infallibly finished the Conquest of that Kingdom. Nothing but Complaints were heard from all Hands. Every one seeking in the Mismanagements of those that were at the Head of Affairs, for a Cause of this fatal Turn. Among all the Reflections cast on the Government, the *Council* gave the greatest Heed to what those said, who affirmed, that the keeping so long the *French* Princes, and particularly the Dukes of *Orleans* and *Bourbon* Prisoners in *England*, was a very great Oversight. That nobody could be ignorant what great Advantages the late King had reaped by the Dissentions of the *French*. That consequently the Prisoners should have been sent back to their own Country, where in all likelihood they would have renewed their old Quarrels: Whereas, the detaining them had been a Means to procure *France* a Tranquillity very destructive to *England*. That at least, if the Dukes of *Orleans* and *Bourbon* had been in *France* with King *Charles*, the *English* would have had more considerable Succours from the Duke of *Burgundy* than what he had furnished hitherto. In short, that it was not too late yet to release these two Princes; and as *England* had been drained by the Continuance of so tedious a War, their Ransoms might serve to put Things upon a better Foot. These Reasonings seemed very plausible. But on the other Hand, the late King's Orders about the Prisoners, were to the Duke of *Gloucester* and the *Council* a Law which they durst not attempt to violate.

Articles for releasing the Duke of Bourbon. Act. Pub. X. 434.

However, as to the Duke of *Bourbon* in particular, there were Reasons which might induce the *Council* to overlook the late King's Orders. In 1421, that Prince had made a Treaty with *Henry V*, whereby he was obliged to swear to the *Peace of Troye*, to pay such a Sum for

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for his Ransom, and deliver up two of his Sons and his fortified Towns in Hostage, till he had fully performed his Oath. *Henry V* dying before the Treaty was finish'd, it was renewed with some Alteration in 1428, and young *Henry* had receiv'd as King of *France*, the Duke's Homage. There was nothing wanting but the Ratification, which had been put off only for fear the People would not be pleased with the Proceeding. In fine, this Year 1430 all Difficulties were got over, and the Treaty was ratified. But some Obstacles were started in the Execution, which hindered the Duke from being set at Liberty. He died after all in *England* in 1433, after an eighteen Years Captivity.

Another Reason which had induced the *Council* to treat with the Duke of *Bourbon*, was the Hopes that his Ransom would serve to defray the Charges of the King's Journey, who was ready to set out for *France*. But this Means having failed, there was a Necessity of having recourse to Loans, which plainly showed how low the Treasury was, and with what Difficulty Funds sufficient for carrying on the War were raised.

Henry sat out at length on the 24th of *April*, attended by great Numbers of the Nobility, and particularly the Cardinal of *Winchester*, who had been appointed Chief Counsellor of the King with a large Salary. This honourable Pretence had been made use of to keep him out of the Kingdom, least in the Absence of the King, and under the Regency of the Duke of *Gloucester* who was made Guardian of the Realm, their Dissention might breed Disturbances. *Henry* being arrived at *Calais*, made but a short Stay there. He went on immediately for *Roan*, where he spent almost all the rest of the Year, whilst they were making at *Paris* Preparations for his Coronation, which could not be got ready till the Month of *December*. About the Middle of the Month he came to the Metropolis, where he was crowned * on the 17th with all the Solemnity the Circumstances of the Time would admit of.

* By the Cardinal of *Winchester*.

1430.
The Duke
of Bedford
secures the
Duke of
Burgundy
to England.

Whilst the King was at *Roan*, the Duke of *Bedford* omitted nothing that could help to put his Affairs upon a better Foot. He had foreseen the Designs of the Duke of *Burgundy*, and as he was very sensible of the Consequences, he left no Stone unturned to prevent them. It cost him *Champagne* and *Brie*, or at least, the Places he still had in those Provinces, which he was obliged to give him up, to keep him firm to the Alliance of *England*. But at the same Time, he was enabled by this Means to stop the Progress of *Charles*, who had carried on his Conquests with a wonderful Rapidity.

The Duke
of Burgun-
dy's third
Marriage.

Another Thing conduced to the retaining some Time longer the Duke of *Burgundy* in the Interest of the *English*: And that was his third Marriage with *Isabella* of *Portugal*, near Relation to the King of *England*, and who had not the same Affinity with King *Charles* as *Bonne* of

The Regent
makes some
Conquests.

Artois his former Wife. The Duke of *Bedford* therefore having received Succours from the Duke of *Burgundy*, took the Field and became Master in the *Isle of France* of several Places, which though of little Consequence in themselves, were of great Importance, as they were troublesome to *Paris*.

The Duke
of Burgun-
dy besieges
Com-
piegne.
The Maid
goes thi-
ther.

Shortly after the Duke of *Burgundy* entered *France* in Person, at the Head of a powerful Army. He retook first, *Torcy* and *Soissons*, and then laid Siege to *Compiegne*. *Flavy* commanded in that Place, with a numerous Garrison and Provisions for six Months. Upon the first News of this Siege, *The Maid of Orleans* and *Xantrailles* had thrown themselves into the Town, to the Governor's great Vexation, who easily saw they were come to rob him of the Honour of the Defense.

She makes
a Sally,
and is taken
Prisoner.

On the 25th of *May* the *Maid* made a Sally, and fought with a great deal of Conduct and Resolution. At length seeing herself constrained to retreat, she put herself in the *Rear*, and every now and then stood her Ground, in order to stop the Enemies who pressed her hard. In this manner, she got off all her Men safe. But when she would have entered the Town, she found the Gate shut and the Draw-Bridge up. It is said this was done by the Governor's

nour's Order, who was very glad to ruin her, pretending he did not know but she was come in. But this Circumstance is not well proved. However *the Maid* finding there was no way to escape her Pursuers, surrendered herself Prisoner to the Bastard of *Vendôme*, who immediately delivered her to the Earl of *Ligni* the Duke of *Burgundy's* General. The Duke of *Bedford* overjoyed that this Prey was fallen into the Hands of his Allies, demanded her of the Earl of *Ligni* with so much earnestness, that the Earl could not deny him. He required however a Reward suitable to the Importance of such a Prisoner. Some Time after the Town was relieved by the Earl of *Vendôme*, who got in Troops and Ammunition just as the Place was reduced to Extremity. Whereupon the Earl of *Ligni* Commander in Chief, seeing no likelihood of succeeding, raised the Siege, and the Duke of *Burgundy* who had staid all the while at *Noyon* retired into *Artois*.

She is delivered to the Duke of Bedford.

The Siege is raised.

I pass over in silence numberless Attempts on both Sides, and divers Skirmishes which contributed but little to the Decision of the main Affair. It will however be proper to observe, that the pretended Inspiration of *the Maid* had made so deep an Impression in the Minds of the *French*, that Marshal *Boussac* and *Xaintrailles* suffered themselves to be imposed upon by a Device, which doubtless would not have produced its Effect, had it not been backed by this Prepossession. A Shepherd living near *Roan*, came to the Marshal and told him, that Heaven had revealed to him a certain private Way by which he would lead him into the very City of *Roan*. *Boussac* having forthwith imparted the Secret to *Xaintrailles*, they were both of Opinion that they ought not to let so fair an Opportunity slip. Thus persuaded as they were that they had God himself for their Guide, they marched with a Body of chosen Troops after the Shepherd, who led them into an Ambush, where *Talbot* waited for them. Their Troops were all cut in Pieces, and *Xaintrailles* made Prisoner.

Boussac and Xaintrailles deceived by a Shepherd.

They are defeated, and Xaintrailles made Prisoner.

These are the most remarkable Events that happened in *France* during the Year 1430, with regard to the War. We must now turn to *England* and see what passed there.

1430.
The Cardinal receives a fresh Mortification.
Act. Pub.
X. 472.

In the Absence of the Cardinal of *Winchester*, the Duke of *Gloucester* brought him into Troubles which gave him no small Uneasiness. The Duke told the *Council* that the Cardinal intended to leave the King, and return to his Place at the *Board*, with Design to raise Disturbances in the Kingdom; that his Intent was the more criminal as he meant to make use of the Pope's Authority to free himself from the Obligation he was under to assist the King in *France*, which was visibly subjecting the Orders and Regulations of the *Council* to a foreign Power. Upon these Complaints the *Council* issued out a *Proclamation*, prohibiting all the King's Subjects, of what Rank soever, under Pain of Imprisonment, to attend the *Cardinal* if he left the King without Leave.

Truce with Castile.
p. 473.
and Scotland.
p. 482.

On the 8th of *November* a Truce was concluded at *London* with the King of *Castile* for one Year, to commence *May* the 1st, 1431.

About the Middle of *December*, the Embassadors of *England* signed at *Edinburgh* a five Years Truce with *Scotland*, to begin the same Day with that made with *Castile*.

1431.
The Duke of Bedford resolves to have the Maid tried for her Life.

The Maid being in the Hands of the *English*, ever since the Siege of *Compeigne*, the Duke of *Bedford* had ordered her to be carried to *Roan*, where he intended to sacrifice her to the Vengeance he believed due to the *English* Nation. There was without doubt a great deal of Policy in this Resolution. All *France* was possessed with the Notion that she was sent from God, and the *English* Soldiers imagined that in fighting against her they had to deal with the Devil. Where-ever she appeared, they deemed the *French* Troops invincible. At least one cannot ascribe to any other Cause the Terror that had seized their Souls, and the prodigious Alteration in them upon that Account. It was therefore of the utmost Consequence to undeceive them. The taking of *the Maid* had already begun to pave the Way. It was natural enough to infer from thence, that had she acted by God's Command, there was no likelihood of her ever falling into such a Misfortune. But to confirm this first Impression, it was not improper to give the frightened *English* to understand, that she had done nothing but

but by way of Witchcraft and Sorcery. It may be the Duke of *Bedford* was himself of that Opinion, as one may conclude from his Expressions in the Letter to the King before-mentioned. However, (for I do not pretend either to accuse or excuse the Prince, that it was done out of Policy or Vengeance) he managed Matters so, that the King by the Advice of his Council of *France*, ordered that *the Maid* should be tried for a *Witch*. Pursuant to this Order, she was delivered over to Ecclesiastical Judges*, who after a long Examination, condemned her as a *Heretick*, to live by way of *Penance* upon Bread and Water all the Days of her Life. Some Time after, under Colour of her relapsing into her former Errours, she was tried again by the same Judges, who delivered her over to the secular Arm to be burnt alive. This Sentence was put in Execution in the old Market-Place at *Roan*, on the 30th of *May* 1431.

1431.

She is condemned to imprisonment, and afterwards to be burnt.

Thus far the *French* and *English* are agreed. No one can deny that she performed great Exploits, and inspired the *French* with Courage, and the *English* with Terror. But the *French* ascribe what appears wonderful in her, to the immediate Power of God, and the *English* to the Artifices of the Devil. What shall one think of this Matter? Perhaps neither of them are in the Right, and there is a third Opinion which wants not plausible Reasons. As the Examinations of these three Opinions would interrupt the Thread of the History too long, I shall not stay to discuss them here. They who want to be more fully informed in this Matter, may read a Dissertation which will be inserted at the End of the present Reign, wherein I shall endeavour to give this Affair all the Light it is capable of.

Various Opinions about her.

Notwithstanding his Advantage, King *Charles* saw himself but little able to carry on the War. The Places he had taken were for the most Part ruined, and consequently incapable of giving him much Assistance. Besides, as they

The Extreme Weakness of the two Kings.

* She was tried by the Bishop of *Beauvais*, in whose *Diocese* she was taken.

1431.

they had voluntarily surrendred, he did not care to press them, for fear they should turn again to the *English*. They might have done so with the same ease, since it was not in his Power to place Garrisons strong enough to keep them in awe. On the other side, the *English* brought low by so many Losses, were in no better Condition to keep Armies in the Field. Wherefore, during the rest of this Year, the War was carried on only by Parties, and by surprizing of Places, the greatest Part whereof were but weakly guarded.

The French surprize Chartres.

In this manner it was that the *French* became Masters of *Chartres*, by means of a Cart loaden with Wine, which they caused to be overturned just under the Portcullis. On the other Hand, the *English* took *Montargis*, by holding Intelligence with a young Woman, who perswaded a Barber, her Lover, to let them into the Town.

The Fair of Caen plunder'd.

Loré a *French* Captain made an Inroad up to the very Gates of *Caen* upon a *Fair-Day*, and carried off above two Thousand Persons, with a very great Booty. After that he retired to *Silley*, a small Town in *Maine*, where he was besieged by the Earl of *Arundel*. But the Duke of *Alençon* suddenly coming to his Relief, obliged the *English* to march off.

Other exploits of the two Parties.

This Year *Xaintrailles* and *Gaucour*, who were ravaging *Normandy*, were beaten and made Prisoners. A Party of *English* took also *Villeneuve lez-sens* from the *French*. This is all that passed worth noting in *France* between the two Parties. But a more important Affair happened in *Lorraine*, wherein King *Charles* and the Duke of *Burgundy* were concern'd, and of which therefore it will not be amiss to say a word or two by the way.

War of Lorraine.

Lewis, Cardinal of *Bar*, and Marquis of *Pont-a-Mousson*, being the last Issue-Male of the House of *Bar*, his Nephews, the Children of *Violante* his Sister, Queen of *Arragon*, were to be his Heirs. Among these Children, *Violante* of *Arragon* had married *Lewis II.* King of *Sicily*, and Duke of *Anjou*, and had by him three Sons, *Lewis*, *René* and *Charles*. Of these Princes, the Cardinal Duke of *Bar* pitched upon *René* for his Heir, and married him to *Isabella*,

la, third Daughter of *Charles* Duke of *Lorraine*, who had no Issue-Male. It is said, that *Isabella's* two elder Sisters had renounced the Succession of the Duke their Father. *René* being Duke of *Bar* by the Death of the Cardinal his Uncle, would likewise have taken Possession of *Lorraine*, upon the Decease of the Duke his Father-in-law. But *Anthony* Earl of *Vandemont*, Son of *Frederick*, younger Brother of Duke *Charles*, disputed the Succession with him. This was the Occasion of a War between these two Princes; wherein King *Charles* took the Part of *René* his Brother-in-law, and the Duke of *Burgundy* sided with the Earl of *Vandemont*. On the 2d of *July* this Year, the two Competitors fought at *Bulegneville* a bloody Battle, wherein *René* was worsted, taken Prisoner, and carried to *Dijon*. There were Twelve Hundred *French* slain in this Action. This Loss no doubt helped to hinder King *Charles* from continuing his Progress.

1431.

The Affair concerning the *See* of *Winchester*, which the Duke of *Gloucester* would have deprived the Cardinal of, was rather suspended than determined in 1429, by an Order which the *Council* gave the Prelate to forbear for that time officiating as Bishop on *St. George's Day*. The Duke willing to take Advantage of the Cardinal's Absence, who was with the King at *Paris*, managed it so, that about the End of this Year the Affair was brought upon the Board again. On the 6th of *November*, the King's Attorney-General appearing before the *Council*, required that the Cardinal should be deprived of his *See*, affirming, that by the Laws of the Land, the same Person could not be Cardinal and Bishop at the same Time in *England*. He supported his Assertion with the Examples of *Simon Langham* and *Robert Kihwarby*, formerly Archbishops of *Canterbury*, who, upon their being made Cardinals, resigned the Archbishoprick. When he had done speaking, the Duke of *Gloucester* addressing himself to the Bishop of *Worcester*, required him to say, upon his Oath of Allegiance to the King, whether it was not true, that the Cardinal had obtained of the Pope an Exemption from the Jurisdiction of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, for himself, for the

An attempt
to take the
See from
the Bishop
of Win-
chester.

1431. the City, and for the whole Diocese of *Winchester*. His Aim was to show by this how inconvenient it was to suffer a *Cardinal* to hold a Bishoprick in *England*. The Bishop of *Worcester* replied, after some Intreaty, that the Bishop of *Lichfield* being at *Rome*, had sued for and obtained this Exemption for the *Cardinal*, who had reimbursed all the Charges; and that he had this from that Prelate's own Mouth. This Affair having been long debated, by reason of the two Parties in the *Council*, it was at length resolved, that before any thing should be decided, the *Cardinal* should be heard, and that the *Judges* should be consulted upon the Matter. Thus it was not yet possible for the Duke of *Gloucester* to compass his Ends.

Conference
about a
Peace.

Whilst *Henry* was in *France*, Pope *Eugenius II.* Successor of *Martin V.* had sent thither the Cardinal of *Santa Crux*, to try to persuade the two Kings to a Peace. This *Legate* had at length prevailed with them to send their Ambassadors to *Auxerre*. But this Congress was to no Purpose. They did not so much as come to a Conference, because, if we may believe the *French* Authors, the Ambassadors of *England* refused to acknowledge King *Charles's* as Ambassadors of *France*. The 31st of *March* the next year was however fixed upon for their Meeting: but it was in vain, since there was no Place appointed for holding the Congress. The Court of *England* had named for Plenipotentiaries the Bishop of *Rocheſter* and some others.

Act. Pub.
X. 500.

1432.
Henry re-
turns to
England.

Ill State of
The Duke of
Bedford in
France.

Henry returned to *England* in the Beginning of the Year 1432, being full Ten Years of Age. As his Journey to *France* had produced no great Effects, so his going from thence made no Alteration in his Affairs. They were still managed by the Duke of *Bedford* in *France*, and by the Duke of *Gloucester* in *England*. The Government of two Kingdoms was no light burden to these Princes, at a Time when the King's Affairs were manifestly going to Ruin. The Duke of *Bedford* was obliged to be always upon his Guard, in order to stand against Enemies who some time since were grown very formidable. But this was a small Matter in Comparison of his Trouble occasioned by the perpetual Distrust he was in with respect to his own Friends, or those

those who pretended to be well-affected to him. The Duke of *Burgundy's* ambiguous Proceedings justly made him uneasy. The Duke of *Bretagne* was no more to be depended upon. In short, since the Decline of the Affairs of the *English*, the Towns which seemed to side with them were faithful only in proportion to the Strength of their Garrisons. The Regent had experienced the Truth of this. *Paris* itself, the Metropolis, on which it may be said all depended, was not so well-disposed as that he could rely upon its Loyalty, or at least its Attachment to the Interest of *England* wholly depended upon that of the Duke of *Burgundy*. Add to this the inconsiderable Aids of Men and Money which the Duke of *Bedford* receiv'd from *England*, at a Time when he stood most in need of them. To complete his Misfortune, the Regent found himself constrained to bear almost the whole Weight of the publick Affairs, as well Military as Civil, upon his own Shoulders: those who had assisted him in the Beginning of his Regency being for the most Part either dead or Prisoners in the Hands of the Enemy. In this Perplexity, he resolved to send to King *Charles*, and propose the Exchange of *Talbot* for *Xaintrailles*, and his Offer was accepted. As he durst not leave *Paris*, and as the War was carrying on in several Parts of the Kingdom, he could not well do without such a General as *Talbot*, though to procure him he was forced to give one as good to the Enemy.

1432.

Exchange
of Talbot
for Xain-
trailles.
Act. Pub.
X. 507.

If the Affairs of the *English* were upon an ill Foot in *France*, they were in no better Posture in *England*. Subsidies were granted by the Parliament with great Reluctance, for carrying on so destructive a War, of which People began to be tired, since it prospered not as formerly. On the other Hand, the Quarrel between the Duke of *Gloucester* and the *Cardinal* still continued with greater Bitterness than ever, and began to turn to the Duke's Disadvantage. In the last Year's Parliament the *Cardinal* had found means to gain the *Commons* to his Side, and thereby to give his Adversary a grievous Mortification. The *House*, willing to show him Marks of their Favour, had presented to the King a *Petition*, intreating him that he would be pleased,

Continua-
tion of the
Quarrel
between
the Duke
of Glou-
cester
and the
Cardinal.

The Cardi-
nal gains
ground
upon his
Enemy.

1432.

in Consideration of the great Services the *Cardinal* had done the *State*, to give him a *full Pardon* for what he might have done contrary to the Laws, particularly with regard to the *Statute of Premunire*. This was a decisive Stroke for the *Cardinal*, since the *Commons* Petition being granted, he was skreened from all Prosecution. However the Duke of *Gloucester* did not give out. He pretended, that notwithstanding the *Pardon*, he had Evidences to produce, which would prove the *Cardinal* guilty of High-Treason, a Crime which could not be supposed to be included in the *Letters of Pardon*. The *Cardinal*, who was then in *Flanders* about the King's Affairs, forthwith repaired to *London* without asking Leave, and by that Means gave his Enemy a Handle to order his Baggage to be seized. Next Day after his Arrival he went to the *House of Lords*, and said, he was come to clear himself of the Crimes they pretended to lay to his Charge, and to vindicate his Innocence against any Person whatever that should offer to be his Accuser. The Duke of *Gloucester* not thinking proper to stand by what he had said, Answer was made the *Prelate*, that as no body appeared to accuse him, they acknowledged him for a loyal Subject. He returned the *House* Thanks for this Declaration, and desired it might be drawn up in Form; which was granted. Then he complained that upon his landing at *Sandwich* his Baggage had been seized, and requested that it might be restored. He maintained that the Seizure was made without just Cause, and offered to lend the King Six Thousand Pounds for six Years, on Condition that if in that Time the Seizure appeared to be lawful, the Money lent should be forfeited to the King's Use. He offered also to lend him the like Sum, and to defer the Demand of the Thirteen Thousand Marks due to him on another Account, provided the Payment of the whole should be assigned out of the next *Subsidy* granted to the King. His Aim was to show what regard he had to the King's and the People's Wants. His Offers were accepted, and whatever had been seized was returned him. Thus the Duke of *Gloucester* was so far from being able to hurt his Enemy, that he had the Mortification to

see

see him receive the Applauses of both *Houses*. Mean while their Dissentions produced very ill Effects. As the Duke of *Gloucester* had Friends and Adherents in the *Council*, the Opposition generally between the two Parties could not but be very prejudicial to the King's Affairs. Whilst the Duke and Cardinal minded only their own private Concerns, the War in *France* was neglected, though it was more necessary than ever to exert their utmost towards carrying it on.

If *England* had known how to improve her Advantages, *Indolence of King Charles.* she had a very favourable Opportunity to repair some of her Losses. King *Charles* languished in the Arms of *Agnes Sorrel* his Mistress, and left to his *Ministers* and Generals the Care of his most important Affairs. Nothing affected him but his Pleasures. It was not without extreme Reluctance that he bestowed a few Moments upon the War and Affairs of State. So impatient was he to return to his Pleasures, which these troublesome Matters obliged him to break off, that he sought only how to commit to the Care of another, whatever might give him any Disturbance. *La Troublesin* *Trimouille* his Favourite was generally accused of soothing *his Court.* him in this supine and indolent State. But the more clear-sighted plainly saw the King began to grow weary of him, and that he was uneasy under the Yoke he had put upon his own Neck. The *Constable*, though Absent, was soon informed how the Case stood. The Spies he kept at Court were too sharp for a Thing of that Moment to be long a Secret to him. As he was of a proud and violent Spirit, he could not bear without Indignation to see *La Trimouille* get the start of him, and had formed a Design to serve him in the same manner as he had done *Louvet*, *De Giac* and *Beaulieu*. The Moment he came to know that the King no longer looked upon *La Trimouille* with the same Eye as formerly, he immediately set about working his Ruin. But as he saw that though he removed this Favourite, he was not so much in the King's good Graces as to have any Prospect of being in his Place, he formed a Project of introducing *Charles* of *Anjou* the Queen's Brother into that Post. A strange Project, to attempt to take from a

1432.

La Trimouille is removed,

and Charles of Anjou becomes Favourite.

Prince one Favourite and give him another against his Will, or at least without consulting him ! As soon as the *Constable* had prepared every Thing at Court, and Matters were ripe for Execution, *La Trimouille* was seized in his Bed, in the King's own House, who was then at *Chinon*, and committed to Prison at *Montreſor*. *Charles* was enraged at the News, and would immediately have gone and taken Vengeance. But when he ſaw all the Princes of the Blood, and all the Great Men at Court declare againſt *La Trimouille*, he durſt not proceed any farther. He called to Mind with Dread the Confederacy formed againſt him when he would have ſcreened *Louvet*, and was afraid of the like again. Beſides, his Diſguſt for the Favourite, who was only ſo in Name, being added to this Reason of State, he caſt him off without much Concern. *Charles of Anjou* came to give him Comfort, and ſucceeded ſo well, that according to the *Conſtable's* Scheme, he became the Favourite, and *La Trimouille* was forgot.

It is eaſy to judge that a Prince of *Charles's* Character, who hated nothing more than War, and kept as far from it as poſſible, would not have been very formidable to the Duke of *Bedford*, if the Succours which the Duke received from *England* had been ſufficient to enable him to make ſome conſiderable Attempt. But he could no longer keep an Army in the Field without draining his Garrifons and expoſing the Towns either to be taken by ſurprize, or tempted to follow the Example of thoſe Places that had voluntarily ſurrendered to King *Charles*.

Lagni taken by the French.

The Engliſh endeavour in vain to retake it.

About the End of the laſt Year *Foucant* had taken from the Duke *Lagni*, a Place often taken and retaken, and which the Neighbourhood of *Paris* render'd of great Importance. A little after the Regent had attempted to retake it, but without Succeſs. In the Beginning of this Year the Marſhal *de l' Isle-Adam* and the Earl of *Arundel* had attacked it in vain, having been obliged to give over their Enterprize by a vigorous Sally from the Town. At laſt in the Beginning of *Auguſt*, the Duke of *Bedford* went himſelf and beſieged it with an Army of ſix Thouſand Men. But on the 10th of the ſame Month the Baſtard of *Orleans*

Orleans got a Convoy in, maugre the Precautions and Vigilance of the Duke, after which he retired and passed the *Marne*. His March having made the Duke apprehensive that he held some Intelligence in *Paris*, he suddenly raised the Siege in order to prevent his Designs. Thus *Lagni* was besieged three Times in vain within the Space of seven or eight Months.

1433.

On the other Side, a small Body of *French* drawn out of the Garrisons near the *Loire* had surprized *Montargis*. But as the Castle made a brave Defence, the *French* not being able either to take it by Storm or keep the Town, were forced to march off. In *Normandy* twelve Hundred *English* invested *La Hire* in *Louviers*, and after a three Months Blockade, constrained the Place to capitulate.

The French surprize Montargis, and quit it again.

These were Matters of little Moment. But on the 13th of *November* there happened one of much greater Consequence; and that was the Death of *Ann* of *Burgundy*, Dutchess of *Bedford* *. This Loss affected not the Duke her Spouse alone, but all the *English* with him, since it broke the Bond of Friendship between the Dukes of *Bedford* and *Burgundy*, and since the Coldness which succeeded their Union, proved very fatal to *England*.

Death of the Dutchess of Bedford.

The Council of *Basil* had been sitting ever since last Year, but *England* had sent thither no Ambassadors. About the End of this Year, the Pope and Council who were quarrelling about Pre-eminence, having sent each apart Legates to the King, the Archbishop of *York*, the Bishop of *Rocheſter*, the Earl of *Huntington*, and several others were appointed by the Board to go to the Council.

Ambassy to the Council of Basil. Act. Pub. X. 519.

In the Beginning of the Year 1433 there happened in *Normandy* a dangerous Insurrection, which would have been no less fatal to the *English* than the raising of the Siege of *Orleans*, if by their Diligence, they had not timely prevented Part of the Mischief which might have ensued, Sixty Thoulund Peasants of that Province having taken up Arms,

1433.
Insurrection in Normandy.

* He buried her at the *Celestine's* in *Paris*, within the Chapel of *Orleans*, where a noble Tomb of Black Marble, with her Effigies as a Princess placed thereon, is still to be seen. Her Epitaph says, she died *November* the 14th. 1432 Dugdale.

1433.

Arms, divided themselves into two Bodies, one of which consisting of forty Thousand Men, marched into *Vexin*, and the other towards *Caen*. Had *Charles's* Army been near enough to support them, he would without Dispute have over-run all *Normandy*. The Rebels soon became Masters of *Caen*, *Harfleur*, *Dieppe*, and *Lillebonne*. In all likelihood they would have made a much greater Progress, if the Earl of *Arundel* had not with the utmost Expedition marched against those that were got together in *Vexin*. As these Men had no Person of Note to head them, they suffered themselves to be surprized in the Night, and easily yielded him a Victory which was more advantageous to his Master than glorious for him. Those of *Caen*, though not so numerous, would have given him more Trouble, because the Marshal of *Rieux* was gone to head them. But terrified at the News of the Defeat of their Companions, they returned to their Homes. The Marshal seeing himself thus deserted, took with him some of the most courageous and retired to *Dieppe*. Mean while *Arundel* taking Advantage of their Consternation, found Means to recover *Caen* and *Lillebonne*. But *Dieppe* and *Harfleur*, Places of great Importance, remained in the Hands of the *French*.

The Duke of Bedford marries Jaqueline of Luxemburg.

The Duke of Burgundy is offended with it.

This very Year another Thing helped to embroil the Affairs of the *English*. The Duke of *Bedford* being a Widower, took to Wife in March *Jaqueline* of *Luxemburg* Daughter to *James* of *Luxemburg* Earl of *St. Pol*. The Duke of *Burgundy* was extremely offended that this Marriage should be made without his Knowledge. He thought the Duke of *Bedford* ought to have shown him more Respect, since besides their being united together by so many Ties, he married the Daughter of one of his *Vassals*. There is no doubt but the Duke of *Bedford*, who was very prudent and circumspect, had his Reasons for hastening his Marriage without imparting it to the Duke of *Burgundy*. However, as it greatly concerned him to keep fair with that Prince, he paid him some Compliments by the *Cardinal of Winchester*, who procured an Interview at *St. Omer*, where the two Princes met in *April*. But an unhappy Dispute about Precedency hindered

dered their Reconciliation, and caused them to part extremely incensed with one another. These two Princes had often been together without any Contest upon that Score. But the Duke of *Burgundy* was under a Necessity of starting some Dispute at the Time I am speaking of, to the end it might serve for a Cloak to the Steps he intended to make. He owned *Henry* for King of *France*, and the Duke of *Bedford* for Regent, and Uncle of the present King, how therefore could he pretend to take Place of him?

During this Year nothing of Moment happened with regard to the War. *Charles* seemed to have wholly thrown off all Care of his Affairs, in order to relish with the greater Gust the Pleasures of Love and Ease. The Duke of *Bedford* was weak, and as he received no longer any Supplies from *England*, he thought more of keeping what he had than of making new Conquests. Mean while, though the Duke of *Burgundy* proposed to make a separate Peace with *Charles*, he believed he should do it upon better Terms, in case he came not empty-handed. To that End, he became Master of *St. Valery* which *Gauconr* had taken by Surprize. The Town of *Ham* defended by the Bastard of *Orleans* and *Xaintrailles*, with *Laon* and *Provins* were taken also by him. On the other Side, the Earl of *Arundel* having besieged *Silley-le-Guillaume* in *Maine*, the Constable *Richmond* obliged him to raise the Siege. But the *French* were scarce gone when the Earl marched back and took the Town.

In the mean Time, the Council of *England* were more intent upon Means how to bring about a Peace, than how to recover what the King had lost in *France*. The Duke of *Orleans*, who was still a Prisoner at *London*, had made the first Overtures, and offered to use his utmost Endeavours towards a Business on the finishing of which depended his Freedom. To compass his Ends, he had proposed to bring to *Calais*, or any other Place the Council should name, the Queen Dowager of *Sicily*, *Charles* of *Anjou* her Son, the Duke of *Bretagne*, with the Earls of *Richmond* and *St. Giles* his Brothers, the Duke of *Alençon*, the Earls of *Armagnac*, *Foix*, *Perdriac*, *Clermont*, and the Archbishop

1433.

The Duke of Burgundy takes some Places from the French.

The Duke of Orleans offers to mediate a Peace.

1433. Archbishop of *Rheims*, in order to treat with the Ambassadors of *England*. He demanded likewise Permission to be at the Congress, that he might forward to the utmost of his Power, the Conclusion of a Peace. As his Aim was to engage the Court of *England* to enter into Negotiation, he made appear that the *English* would be Gainers by the Treaty, whether it was broken off, or whether it succeeded. These are the two Articles he proposed to the *Council* for his own Part.

His Offers.
Act. Pub.
X. 556.

First, In Case the Peace should be concluded between *Henry* and the *Dauphin* (for so he called King *Charles*, he promised to do Homage to *Henry*, as often as he should be required, and never to own any other King of *France* than him, or his lawful Successors.

II. He promised the same Thing for all his *Vassals*, for the Duke of *Alençon*, for the Earls of *Armagnac*, *Perdriac*, *Angoulême*, the Dukes of *Milan* and *Savoy*.

In another Article he supposed that the *Dauphin* would be contented with an honourable and considerable *Appenage*, which was the very Thing the *English* drove at in this Negotiation.

But as it might happen that a Peace should not be concluded; in that Case, the Duke bound himself to acknowledge *Henry* for sole and rightful King of *France*. He promised moreover to give him up *Blois*, *Orleans*, and all the Places of his Inheritance, with *Rochelle*, *Mont St. Michel*, *Limoges*, *Bourges*, *Chinon*, *Poitiers*, *Tournay*, *Beziers*, and *Loches*, or what other Towns he liked instead of these, except *Rochelle* and *Mont St. Michel*, which were not to be changed for others.

That if the King should be pleased to make him a Grant of any *Demefns* in *England*, he would own him as King of *England*, for his Liege-Lord, and as such swear Fealty to him.

That he would do what in him lay to put the King in Possession of the Countries and Cities of *France*, which did
not

not yet acknowledge him, and that he would serve him at his own Expence. 1433.

That in Case the Treaty came not to a happy Issue, he promised to return a Prisoner to *England*, till all the Articles above were performed on his Part, on Condition that he should afterwards be set at Liberty without Ransom.

These Articles, which had been before concerted between the King's Commissioners and the Duke, having been *They are accepted.* agreed to by the *Council*, the Duke signed and sealed them and swore to observe them. Then *Pass-Ports* were got ready for the Queen Dowager of *Sicily*, and all the rest mentioned in the first Article, that they might repair to *Calais* in *October*. The *Council* appointed also Plenipotentiaries to go and treat with the *French*.

When one considers the Engagements the Duke of *Orleans* entered into by these Articles of Agreement, one cannot but be convinced that he joined with the Court of *France*, to impose upon the Court of *England*. This evidently appears by the Hopes he gave that *Charles* would be satisfied with a bare *Appennage*: A Thing most certainly far enough from that Prince's Thoughts, and which was insinuated purely to make the *English* the more readily to fall into the Snare. Moreover by engaging to bring to *Calais* the Queen of *Sicily* and the other *French* Princes and Lords, he would have it insinuated, that it was their Intention to endeavour to make a Peace upon that Foot, which was however directly contrary to their Design, as plainly appeared afterwards. In the next Place, the humble manner wherein the Duke spoke of the King of *England*, calling him all along in the Articles his King and *Sovereign Lord*, is a clear Evidence that he flattered him only to deceive him. In short, he promised Things that were beyond his Power: For Instance, to give up Places which belonged not to him. But this was the very Thing wherein the Fraud consisted, because his Aim was to make believe, that he was impowered to do so, though the Court of *France* did not think proper to act openly in the Matter. These are not bare Conjectures. The Sequel of this Ne-

Reasons why the Duke of Orleans acted not sincerely.

1433. Negotiation will plainly show that the Duke did not act with Sincerity. This however is the very Duke of *Orleans* whom the *French* would fain put upon us for a *Saint*, and upon whose Account *The Maid* pretended to have divers *Revelations*.

1433. It is very easy to perceive that the Duke of *Orleans* acted in concert with the Court of *France*, when one considers that *Charles* was already agreed with the Duke of *Burgundy*, who only wanted a Pretence to break with *England*. The Constable *Richmont* had put the finishing Stroke to a separate Treaty, at a Conference he had held with the Duke at *Nevers*. He had repaired to that City under Colour of making up a Difference between the Duke of *Burgundy* and the Earl of *Clermont*. There it was that all the Articles of the separate Peace were agreed upon with the Duke. Nothing was wanting but to furnish him with an Opportunity to take this Step. And to this the Project of a Conference about a general Peace was made

Hist. de
Charles
VII. par
B. I.

The Eng
lish are im
posed upon.

The Con-
gress is to
be held at
Arras.

Continua-
tion of the
War in
France.

subservient. It was well known that the *English* would not agree to the Terms which should be proposed to them, and their Refusal it was that the Duke of *Burgundy* was to use as a Pretence to make a separate Peace. This was the real Motive of the Duke of *Orleans's* large Offers to the King of *England*, in case a Peace was not concluded. The Design was to engage *Henry's* Council in this Negotiation, by putting them in hopes, that whether the Treaty ended in a Peace, or whether it came to nothing, *England* would still be a great Gainer. The Duke of *Bedford* and the Council of *England*, who knew nothing of what had passed between King *Charles* and the Duke of *Burgundy*, fell into the Snare. As soon as they had consented to the proposed Negotiation, the Duke of *Burgundy* pretending to be still strictly united with the *English*, ordered it so, that instead of *Calais* the City of *Arras* was pitched upon for the Place of Congress, where all the Parties concerned were to send their Ambassadors. We shall see presently what was done at this Congress.

Mean while, the War in *France* was turned into downright pillaging and robbing. The two Kings being too weak to keep great Armies on Foot, nothing was done on either

either Side but by small Bodies and Parties. The most remarkable Occurrences of this Year were these. The *French* having surprized *Rue* in *Picardy*, the Earl of *Arundel* hastned thither in order to endeavour to retake the Town. Whilst he was upon his March, he heard that the *French* were fortifying *Herberoy* near *Beauvais*, and thought it his best Way to drive them from thence before their Works were finished. He sat down therefore before that Place; but upon Notice that *Vignoles* and *Xaintrailles* were approaching with Twelve Hundred Men, he raised the Siege to go and meet them. A bloody Battle ensued, wherein the Earl of *Arundel* was mortally wounded and made Prisoner. He died within a few Days, to the great Grief of the Duke of *Bedford*.

1434

Death of
the Earl of
Arundel,
May 13.

About the same Time the Earl of *Clermont*, now Duke of *Bourbon* by the Death of the Duke his Father, became Master of *Corbeil* and *Brie-Compte-Robert*, which were sold to him by the Governors. A *Scotch* Officer found likewise the Means to take *Vincennes*, but he could not keep it.

In the mean Time, *Talbot* being arrived from *England* with Three or Four Thousand Men, to whom he joined some other Troops drawn out of the Garrisons, was in such manner Master of the Field that all the *French* vanished before him. So that without much Opposition he retook *Beaumont upon Oyse*, *Creil*, *Pont St. Maixance*, and *Clermont* in *Beauvaisis*. He even began the Siege of *Beauvais*, but the bad Weather obliged him to give it over. During these little Exploits, King *Charles* went and took a Turn into *Languedoc* and *Dauphine*.

Talbot arrives in France, and retakes several Places.

The Frost which was very severe about the End of this Year and the Beginning of the next, hindered not the two Parties from continuing the War all the Winter by Sieges, and Surprizings of divers Places. The *French* had a great Advantage, in that most of the *English* Towns thought of surrendring to King *Charles*, since the Decline of the Affairs of the *English*. But it was not from these Successes so inconsiderable in themselves, that *Charles* expected the Conclusion of the War. It must have been a long while before he could have taken one by one all the Places

Charles's Advantage in the Continuation of the War.

1434. the *English* were possessed of in *France*. The Congress which was to be at *Arras* afforded him a much better Prospect, since he was sure of making a Peace there with the Duke of *Burgundy*.

1435.
Congress of
Arras.

Act. Pub.
X. 611.

p. 620.

Charles's
Proposals
for Peace.

The News being spread over all *Europe* that a Peace between *France* and *England* was going to be negotiated at *Arras*, there was scarce a Sovereign Prince but what had a mind to send Ambassadors thither. Pope *Eugenius II.* and the Council of *Basil*, who were still at Variance, sent theirs also, but separately. From the Pope came the Cardinal of *Santa Cruz*; and from the Council the Cardinals of *Cyprus* and *Arles*. King *Charles* sent Seventeen Plenipotentiaries, at the Head of whom was the Constable *Richmont*. *Henry* appointed Twenty-seven for *France* and *England*, of whom the Duke of *Burgundy* was the First, with Power to Eight of them, viz. Four *English* and Four *French*, (among whom were to be the Duke of *Burgundy* and the Archbishop of *York*) to sign the Peace. Afterwards the same Power was given to the Cardinal of *Winchester*. Hitherto the Duke of *Bedford* and Council of *England* were perswaded of the Sincerity of the Duke of *Burgundy*. This is evident from his being entrusted with the Secret of the Embassy, since nothing could be treated about or concluded without him. It must be confessed, that this Prince acted a base Part at this Congress. Shortly after, they had private Intelligence in *England* that he had desired the Pope to absolve him from his Oath to *Henry V.* Whereupon the King writ to the Pope to know whether it was true. *Eugenius* sent back word, that no *French* Prince had ever applied to him for any such Thing; that he had never granted any such Dispensation; and that for the future, he would behave in that respect so as the King should have Reason to be satisfied. We shall see in the Sequel how well he performed his Promise.

The Congress of *Arras* was opened on the 6th of *August*. It began with King *Charles's* Proposals. His Ambassadors offered, in his Name, to the King of *England*, *Normandy* and *Guienne*, provided he would quit the Title of *King of France*, and do Homage for those two Provinces: That is

to

to say, he offered as a Favour the two Provinces which the King of *England* was entirely possessed of, a Favour which he was to purchase with the Resignation of the Title of *King of France*, and of a great Part of the Kingdom still in his Hands. Tho' there was no other Proof of *Charles's* being sure of bringing off the Duke of *Burgundy* from the Side of the *English*, this alone would be sufficient. For on what other Grounds could *Charles*, who for three Years past was not able to bring an Army into the Field, make such a Proposal? But, as it has been observed, his Intent was not to conclude a Peace with the *English*, but only to afford the Duke of *Burgundy* a Pretence to do as he had already resolved. The Ambassadors of *England*, surprized at an Offer so very wide of what the Duke of *Orleans* had made them expect, suddenly broke off the Conference, and withdrew extremely dissatisfied, without vouchsafing to return an Answer. Here it is that several *French* Authors display their Eloquence, to shew to what Height the *English* had carried their Pride and Insolence, since they rejected so reasonable Offers. A remarkable Instance of the usual Prejudice of Historians in favour of their own Nation.

1435.

The English withdraw with Indignation.

The withdrawing of the *English* surpriz'd neither the Duke of *Burgundy* nor the *French* Ambassadors. They must needs have foreseen, that such Offers would not be hearkened to. One may affirm on the contrary, that in making so unreasonable a Proposal, considering the Posture of Affairs, their sole Aim was to induce the *English* Ambassadors to do as they did. They did not fail however to make a great Noise about their abrupt Departure, and to represent it as a clear Evidence that they never intended to make Peace. It was this likewise that gave the Duke of *Burgundy* a Pretence to conclude a separate Treaty with King *Charles*. He pretended, he was not obliged to follow their Humour, or to render the War everlasting for their sake. Upon this Foundation the Pope's *Legate* absolved him from all the Oaths he had taken, as well to the late as the present King of *England*. After that a separate Peace was soon concluded, the Articles being all agreed upon already. Never had King of *France* made so dishonourable a Peace.

The Duke of Burgundy makes a separate Peace with Charles.

Charles

1435. *Charles* was bound by this Treaty to disown the Murder of Duke *John*, to deliver up the Murderers, or if they were not in his Power, to banish them the Realm: He promised to found certain Chapels where the Soul of the deceased was to be prayed for Day and Night. He agreed that the Duke of *Burgundy* should nominate the Priests that were to officiate, and that a Cross should be erected on *Montereau* Bridge, for a standing Monument of the Reparation of the Murder. He was bound moreover to pay fifty Thousand Crowns of Gold for Duke *John's* Equipage which was pillaged; to yield up to the Duke of *Burgundy* certain Towns, to make him amends for the Charges of the War. Lastly, he freed him from all Homage during his Life. The Duke consented on his part, that the King might redeem the Towns of *St. Quentin*, *Peronne*, *Amiens*, *Corbie*, situated on the *Somme*, for four Hundred Thousand Crowns. One may see by this Article that the Duke was not a Slave to his Conscience, since he sold to *France* the very Places he held by the Bounty of the King of *England*, pursuant to the Engagements he had entered into with the Duke of *Bedford*. It will not be amiss to remark, that the Service the Duke of *Burgundy* did *France* in making a separate Peace, vastly outweighed in the Opinion of the *French* Historians all that he had ever done against his Country. This has made them very careful in what they have said of him before the Treaty of *Arras*, for fear it should not agree with what they had to say afterwards. But after this happy Peace, they have extolled to the Skies his Goodness, Wisdom and Probity. He was however the Man who for the sake of Revenge had ruined *France*, and found no other way to make amends for his Fault, but by a notorious Piece of Treachery to *England*. What would the *French* not have said, if he had always continued firm to the *English*? I am sorry I am obliged to speak thus of a Prince, to whom was given the Sir-name of *Good*. But it serves to shew, how it happens sometimes, that the *Sir-names* and *Encomiums* bestowed on Princes ill agree with their real Characters.

I say nothing of the Dispensation granted to the Duke of *Burgundy* on the Score of his Oath. Every one may make what Reflections upon it he pleases; I shall only add that in *November* they published in *England* Pope *Eugenius's* Letter above mentioned, attested by the King. Probably it was to let the Publick see the Honesty of the Court of *Rome*.

1435.

Act. Pub.
X. 625.

As soon as the *English* had lost the Assistance of the Duke of *Burgundy*, their Affairs began to decline so visibly, that it portended their sudden Ruin. As they had not Troops enough to defend all the Places, they were obliged to rely upon the Loyalty of the Inhabitants, who very often proved false. On the other Hand, the Towns upon the *Somme*, which they had given up to the Duke of *Burgundy*, being now against them, they found themselves under a Necessity to have an Eye upon that Quarter, for fear they might be made use of to invade the neighbouring Provinces. Wherefore, their whole Care was confined to the Defence of *Normandy* and *Paris*, it being impossible to guard all amidst the continual Revolts of the Towns committed to the Care of the Inhabitants. *Houdan*, *St. Denys*, *Pontoise*, *Melun*, *Pont St. Maixance*, *Meulant*, were in the Number of those which voluntarily surrendered to the *French* during the Congress at *Arras*, or a little before. The Duke of *Bedford* having retaken *St. Denys*, razed the Walls to the Ground. Then he ordered *Meulant* to be invested; but the Bastard of *Orleans* raised the Siege. The Lord of *Chatillon*, Governor of *Epernay* for the *English*, being gone out of the Town, found the Gates shut against him at his Return, and the Inhabitants called in the *French*.

The Treaty
of Arras
changes the
Affairs of
the English
for the
worse.

Isabella, Queen Dowager of *France*, seeing the flourishing Condition of the King her Son, whom she mortally hated, and the forlorn State of the *English*, died at *Paris* with Grief and Vexation, twelve Days after the Conclusion of the Treaty of *Arras*. She was universally hated by the *French*, who looked upon her as the Principal Cause of the Ruin of the Kingdom. The *English* did not much esteem

Death of
Queen Isabella of
Bavaria.

1435.

esteem her ; at least, they showed but little Regard for her, since she was become of no Service to them.

*Death of
the Duke of
Bedford.*

Her Decease was of little Consequence to either of the Parties. But the Death of the Duke of *Bedford*, which happened on the 14th of the same Month at *Roan*, was of infinitely greater Merit. It is very probable, that his Vexation at being thus imposed upon by King *Charles* and the Duke of *Burgundy*, was a great Means of throwing him into the Fit of Sickneſs of which he died, four Days before the Conclusion of the Treaty of *Arras*, the fatal News whereof he expected to hear every Moment. He foreſaw with mortal Grief, that the Affairs of the King his Nephew were going to be reduced to a very wretched State, and without any Proſpect of being ever reſtored. During the whole Courſe of his Adminiſtration, he had behaved with that Wiſdom and Prudence, as juſtly made him paſs for one of the greateſt Men of his Time. His Valour and other martial Virtues had ſhone with no leſs Luſtre on all Occaſions, where he had commanded in Perſon. Had he been well aſſiſted by *England*, he would, in all appearance, have ended the War to his own Glory and the young King's Advantage, ſince he wanted no Qualification proper to accompliſh the greateſt Enterprizes. But unfortunately for him, he ſaw himſelf abandoned when he ſtood moſt in need of Help. The only Thing they could tax him with, was his ſuffering himſelf to be over-reached in the Buſineſs of the Congreſs of *Arras*. But where is the Man that can always be upon his Guard againſt Treachery ? Nothing better ſhows the Eſteem the World ought to have of this illuſtrious Prince, than the Regard *Lewis XI.* Son of *Charles VII.* expreſſed for him, at a Time when he could have no Inducement to flatter him. *Lewis* being one Day in the Church of *Roan*, and looking upon the Duke of *Bedford's* Tomb *, a certain Lord of his Retinue adviſed him to demolish

His Elogy.

* He was buried in *Notre Dame* Church, under a plain Tomb of black Marble, with an *Epitaph* upon a Copper Plate, and his Arms garter'd betwixt two Oſtrich-Feathers fixed upon a Pillar of the Church over it. *Dugdale.*

molish that standing Monument of the Dishonour of the *French*, No, replied the King, *Let the Ashes of a Prince rest in Peace, who were he alive would make the boldest of us tremble. I rather wish they had erected a more stately Monument to his Honour.*

1435.

Immediately after the Death of the Duke of Bedford, the Duke of York was appointed Regent of France. But Henry Duke of Somerset who aspired to that Dignity, managed it so by his Intrigues that his Rival's Patent was deferred a good while. In all likelihood he was in hopes he should be able to get the Court to change in his Favour. This Delay proved extremely prejudicial to the King's Affairs, as will be seen in the Relation of the next Year's Occurrences.

The Duke of York appointed Regent of France.

All England was exceedingly enraged at the News of the Duke of Burgundy's Defection. They did not spare to give him the most opprobrious Names. Mean while the Duke being willing to show still some regard for Henry, sent two *Heralds* to make his Excuse for concluding a separate Peace, on Pretence that his Subjects were over-burdened by the continuance of the War. This is the common Pretence for all Peaces, though generally when a War is taken in Hand, the Interests of the poor People are little regarded. The Duke offered at the same Time his Mediation to Henry, if he had a Mind to conclude a Peace with King Charles. This Offer was looked upon as a fresh Insult. The Truth is, what could one have expected from the Mediation of a Prince who had just sacrificed so openly the Interest of England to his own Advantage? Therefore they vouchsafed not to answer his Letters, which besides were writ in a Stile very different from what he was wont to use. His *Heralds* were received with Indignity. The Law of Nations had like to have been violated on their account, and the Populace were very near tearing in Pieces all the *Flemings* and *Burgundians* then in England, so incensed were they against their Prince. But in behaving thus, they could not do him a greater Piece of Service. He wanted a Pretence to join his Forces with the *French*, and he did not fail to find one in the Insults done to his *He-*

1436.
The Duke of Burgundy tries to excuse himself in England.

He offers his Mediation. It is rejected.

He declares against England.

1436. *valds* and Subjects. Accordingly in the Month of *May* this very Year, he sent to the Constable *Richmont* five Hundred *Lances*, under the Command of the Earl of *Lalain*, and by that openly declared himself an Enemy to the King of *England*.

The Con-
stable ap-
proaches
Paris,

The Constable having joined these Succours to six or seven Thousand Men he had drawn together from other Places, approached *Paris*, where there was but fifteen Hundred *English*, under the Command of Sir *Richard Woodville*. Besides that this Garrison was very weak for the Defence of so large a City, the Constable held Intelligence with the Inhabitants, who being almost all Friends of the Duke of *Burgundy*, had sided with *England* purely out of regard to that Prince. Whilst he remained firm to the King of *England*, *Paris* needed no other Guard but her own Citizens: But upon his declaring for King *Charles*, they all changed with him. So that it was no wonder if fifteen Hundred *English* could not keep them in Awe. The Death of the Duke of *Bedford*, the Absence of the new Regent, and the little Care that was taken to send Succours from *England*, disabling the *English* from keeping an Army in the Field, the Constable met with no Opposition in his March. He took several small Places near *Paris*, and slew five Hundred of a Detachment which the Governour had sent to throw themselves into *St. Denys*. Then he went and encamped up to the very Gates of *Paris* with his little Army. Whilst he lay there, continual Parleys were held between the Burghers and Besiegers, without the Governour's being able to help it. At length, *April* the 13th the whole City rise in Arms, whilst the Marshal *de L'isle Adam* scaled the Walls. The Garrison advancing to repulse the Assault, found themselves pelted with a Shower of Stones from the Windows, whilst all the City resounded with *Long live the King and the Duke of Burgundy*. The Governour perceiving there was no standing against so many Enemies, chose to retire into the *Bastile* with all his People. Immediately all the Streets were chained for fear he should take it in his Head to return. In the mean Time *L'isle Adam* entered the City with Ease, and opened the Gates to the Constable.

and takes
it.

Thus

Thus *Paris* was taken for King *Charles* by the same *L'isle Adam* who had surprized it seventeen Years before for the Duke of *Burgundy*, and much after the same Manner. The *Bastile*, which might have held out a long Siege, if it had been well stored with Provisions, was so unprovided that it could hold out but three Days. It was very much that the Governour was able to obtain an honourable Capitulation.

1436.

As the Affairs of the *English* sensibly declined, the Council of *England* were extremely desirous of a Peace. In continuing the War in *France*, the Question was no longer about the Conquest of that Kingdom, as in the Reign of *Henry V.* and till the raising of the Siege of *Orleans*, but only about what the King of *England* could possibly keep, and the little they could expect to secure by a vigorous War cost *England* immense Sums. This was a plausible Reason enough to persuade the Publick that it was necessary to think in good earnest of a Peace. I say, a plausible Reason, because it was not the real Motive which set the Council at work. Some time since the Cardinal of *Winchester* gained Ground upon the Duke of *Gloucester* his Rival. The Council by Degrees was filled with his Creatures, who no more than himself found their own private Account in the Continuance of the War, because it made them odious to the People, since it was attended with ill Success. Coin was grown exceeding scarce in *England*, and yet the Council was forced to be continually devising Means to raise Money, which could not be done without causing great Murmurings. On the other Hand, the Cardinal hoped he should be able to ruin his Enemy with more Ease during a Peace, because the War and the unforeseen Accidents of it, rendered the Person and Counsels of the Duke of *Gloucester* absolutely necessary. In fine, as the Duke was ever of Opinion that vigorous Endeavours should be used to recover what had been lost in *France*, this was an Argument for the opposite Party to insist with the same eagerness upon the Necessity of concluding a Peace. The Majority of the Council being of this Mind, the Duke of *York*, whose Commission to be Regent of *France* was at length signed, had Instructions and full Power to

England
thinks of a
Peace.

Instructions
to the
Duke of
York.

1436. treat with King *Charles* if he found it practicable. Moreover upon the Prospect that a Negotiation would be set on Foot, the *Council* empowered the Cardinal of *Winchester* and the Duke of *Burgundy* jointly to treat about a Marriage between the King and one of his Adversary's Daughters.

He drives
the French
out of Nor-
mandy.

Shortly after the Duke of *York* set out for *France*, and in *Normandy* landed a good Body of Troops, with which he took a great many small Places or Castles which the *French* had taken since the Death of the Duke of *Bedford*. *Fescamp* was among the Places the Regent recovered, but presently after it was carried again by *Scalado*.

The Duke
of Burgun-
dy prepares
to besiege
Calais.

Though the Duke of *York* was master of the Field in *Normandy* and about *Paris*, he was not easy with respect to *Picardy*. He was informed from all Hands, that the Duke of *Burgundy* was drawing all his Forces together, and laying in a prodigious Store of all Things necessary for a Siege. Such great Preparations could be designed against *Calais* only, and therefore he sent Word to the Council of *England*, that they might provide betimes against the impending Siege. Indeed a powerful Fleet, a great Train of Artillery, and an Army of fifty Thousand Men, which the Duke of *Burgundy* had got ready, were clear Evidences how very desirous he was of succeeding in his Enterprize, and that he resolved to go through with it. News of this coming to *England*, the whole Nation was alarmed, and grew more incensed against the Duke of *Burgundy*. The *Council* in a Fright about *Calais*, the first Conquest of the *English* in *France*, resolved to use all possible Endeavours to save it. To that End they ordered fifteen Thousand Men to be raised, and petitioned the Duke of *Gloucester* to take upon him the Care of relieving that Place. Fifteen Thousand Men were little enough for such an Undertaking. But besides that they reckoned the Regent would join the Duke of *Gloucester* with all his Forces, they knew that the Enemy's Army was made up almost entirely of the *Militia* of *Flanders*, which they made no great Account of.

Aët. Pub.
X. 645.
The Duke
of Glou-
cester goes
to its Re-
lief.

Henry dis-
poses of
Boulogne
and Flan-
ders.

p. 652.

Whilst they were busy in levying Troops with the utmost Diligence, the King by the Advice of his Council, resolved to express his Resentment against the Duke of *Burgundy*.

gundy, by causing Letters under his *Great Seal* to be drawn up, whereby he bestowed the Earldom of *Boulogne* upon the Lord *Beaumont*, and *Flanders* upon the Duke of *Gloucester*. But it was easier to make Grants of them in Parchment, than to wrest them out of the Hands of the Possessor.

Every Thing being ready for the Departure of the Army designed for the Relief of *Calais*, the Duke of *Gloucester* set sail and landed in *Normandy* the Beginning of *October*. The Duke of *Burgundy* had now been before *Calais* six Weeks with his numerous Army. He carried on the Siege vigorously, and the Besieged made as brave a Defence. Mean time the Duke, who was in hopes of winning immortal Honour by taking one of the strongest Places in *Europe*, was yet very short of his Aim. Nay, he began to perceive that the Attempt was beyond his Power. His Fleet, either by the Unskillfulness of the Pilots, or some other Accident, coming too near the Town at Low-Water, ran a-Ground, and the Ships were reduced to Ashes before his Eyes by the Besieged. This was a very mortifying Sight. But a worse Accident befell him quickly after. A Rumour being spread in the Army that the Duke of *Gloucester* was at Hand to relieve the Town, the *Flemings*, disheartened by the Hardships of the Siege, and terrified at the Approach of the *English*, packed up their Baggage and began to march off. In vain did the Duke use all possible Endeavours to remove their Fears. The Scouts of the *English* Army appearing in the mean Time, it was impracticable for the Duke to stop his frightened Troops, who sought only to avoid coming to a Battle. Whereupon the Duke seeing he could do nothing with them, was forced to follow them in their Retreat, which was made in great Disorder, though timely enough to prevent the *English* from taking the Advantage of it. He had the further Mortification to receive a Defiance from the Duke of *Gloucester*, offering him Battle, and not to have it in his Power to accept it, though his Army was much Superior to that of his Enemy. But this was not all. Hardly was he returned into his own Country but the Towns of *Flanders* revolted against him. He was even in Danger of losing his

1436.

The Duke
of Glou-
cester
comes be-
fore Calais.

The Duke
of Burgun-
dy's Army
retires.

Insurrec-
tion in Flan-
ders.

Life

1436. Life at *Bruges* in a seditious Tumult of the Citizens. He was himself wounded, after seeing with Grief *L'isle Adam* torn in Pieces by the mutinous Populous. Mean Time the Duke of *Gloucester* improving this Juncture, over-ran *Artois, Flanders, and Hainault*, and carried off twelve Hundred Waggon-Loads of Booty. From thenceforward the Duke of *Burgundy* had so much upon his Hands at Home, that he was but of little Service to King *Charles*.

Marriage of
Lewis the
Dauphin

In the Month of *June* this Year, *Lewis* the Dauphin Son of King *Charles*, had married *Margaret* of Scotland Daughter of *James I*, then about twelve Years of Age.

1437.
Death of
the two
Queen
Dowagers
of England.
Catharine
marries
Tudor.

The Beginning of the Year 1437 was remarkable for the Death of *Joan of Navarre* and *Catharine of France*, both Queen Dowagers of *England*, one Widow of *Henry IV*, the other of *Henry V*. The last had married *Owen Tudor* a *Welsh* Gentleman descended, as they pretend, from the ancient Kings of *Wales*. I do not know whether in those Days this Descent was much minded, or whether it was not after the Crown was devolved to the Family of the *Tudors* by the Accession of *Henry VII* to the Throne, that they endeavoured to make it out. However that be, when Queen *Catharine* married *Owen Tudor*, they seemed to be so ill-matched, that all *England* was offended at it, especially as it was done without the Knowledge of the Duke of *Gloucester*, who was then Protector. But the Veneration that Prince had for the Memory of the King his Brother, with-held him from giving the Queen his Sister-in-law any Trouble about it. As soon as she was dead, the Council had not the same Regard for her second Husband. They thought it their Duty to punish him for his Temerity in daring to espouse the King's Mother, without the Consent of those who governed the Kingdom, and ordered him to be sent to the *Tower*. Some Time after *Tudor* made his Escape, but he was taken and put under closer Confinement. Some say, he found means to escape a second Time, but being retaken, had his Head cut off. Others affirm, that he was not beheaded till 1460, upon his being made Prisoner of War, fighting for the *House of Lancaster*. I do not know whether it be certain that *Tudor* was put

A&C. Pub.
X. 685.
Tudor is
sent to the
Tower af-
ter the
Queen's
Death.

to Death; but one may venture to affirm, that they who tell us it was in 1460, were guilty of an Error, by taking *Owen Tudor* his third Son, for *Owen Tudor* the Father. 1436.

Tudor had by *Queen Catharine* three Sons, *Edmund*, *Tudor's*
Jasper and *Owen*. The Eldest was created *Earl of Rich-* *Issue by*
mond * by *Henry VI.* his Half-Brother, who gave him to *Queen Ca-*
Wife *Margaret*, only Daughter of *John Duke of Som-* *tharine.*
set. From this Marriage sprung *Henry Earl of Richmond*,
whom we shall see hereafter ascend the Throne of *England*,
under the Name of *Henry VII*, all the Male-Heirs of the
House of Lancaster being extinct. *Jasper* the Second Son
was made *Earl of Pembroke* *¹. *Owen* the Youngest, lost
his Head on the Scaffold in 1460.

Jaqueline of Luxemburg, Widow of the Duke of *Bed-* *Second*
ford, followed the Example of *Queen Catharine*. After the *Marriage*
Death of the Prince her Husband, she married Sir *Richard* *of the*
Woodville, who was only a Knight, and much below her. *Duchess of*
This Match was hardly any better than that of *Queen* *Bedford.*
Catharine: Besides, it was made not only without the *p. 678.*
King's License, but also contrary to the express Oath *Ja-*
queline had taking not to marry without his Leave. So that
both the Bride and Bridegroom would have been liable to
the Rigour of the Law, had not the King been pleased to
pardon them *².

On the 19th of *February*, *James I.* of *Scotland* was *1437.*
murdered in his Bed by Assassins suborned by the Earl of *Death of*
Athol his Uncle. *James II.* his Son, seven Years old, *the King of*
succeeded him, under the Guardianship of *Joan of* *Scotland.*
Somerfet his Mother, who was herself wounded, by endea-
vouring to save the King her Husband. It is time now to
return to what was doing in *France*.

Since

* *Edmund of Hadham* was created *Earl of Richmond*, 31 *Henry*
VI. November 23. at *Reading*. *Dugdale*.

*¹ *Jasper of Hatfield* was created at the same Time *Earl of Pem-*
broke, and afterwards 1 *Henry VII*, Octob. 27. *Duke of Bedford*. *Dug.*

*² He gave 1000 Pound Fine for that and the *Livery* of her
Dowry. He was created *Earl of Rivers*, 26 *Hen. VI.* May 29. *Dugd.*

1437.
The Affairs
of the Eng-
lish in
France be-
gin to have
a better
Face.

Since the Arrival of the Duke of York from England, the Affairs of the *English* began to be upon a better Foot. King *Charles*, ever a Slave to his Pleasures, had no considerable Body of Troops in the Field; and the Revolt of the *Flemings* hindered the Duke of *Burgundy* from sending him any Succours. It is true, the Towns that had voluntarily surrendered to him had strengthened his Party considerably; but then his Army was much weakened by it, on account of the Garrisons he was obliged to keep there. As Matters then stood in *France*, both Kings had almost equal Reason to fear the Disloyalty of their Adherents, who for the most Part were attached rather to the Fortune of him they served, than to his Person, or the Justice of his Cause. And therefore the keeping the Towns they were possessed of, entirely depended on the Strength of the Garrisons.

Talbot
takes Pon-
toise.

The first Part of this Year was so excessive cold, that the Generals of both Sides seemed to have no desire to form any Enterprize till the Weather became warmer. Mean while *Talbot*, who found nothing impossible, knew how to take Advantage of the Security the *French* were in by reason of the Sharpness of the Season. On *Shrove-Tuesday* at Night he scaled *Pontoise*, by help of the Ditches being frozen over, and carried it, whilst the Garrison and Townsmen were minding only their Diversions. The taking of this important Place was a great Blow to King *Charles*. Especially it very much galled the *Parisians*, who were exposed to the continual IncurSIONS which the new Garrison made up to the very Gates of *Paris*.

The *French* made themselves some amends for this Loss, by the gaining of *Dreux* and *Chrevreuse*, which were sold to them by the Governours.

The Duke
of Burgun-
dy rouses
K. Charles.

The Superiority the *English* had just recovered in *France*, made the Duke of *Burgundy* apprehensive of some fatal Turn. He was very sensible that without his Aid King *Charles* would never be able to put an end to the War; and since he had openly declared against the *English*, it was for his Interest that they should be drove quite out of the Kingdom. Mean time, he thought it a sad Thing to act alone for the Benefit of a Prince, whose Indolence kept him at a Distance from

from all Enterprizes, wherein he should have been the foremost. The Duke, designing therefore to rouse him from his Lethargy, represented to him, that his Honour and Interest called upon him to draw together all his Forces, put himself at their Head, and approach *Paris*, in order to drive the Enemy out of the Heart of the Kingdom. At the same time he offered to make a powerful Diversion in *Picardy* to favour his Undertaking.

Never was Prince less inclined to War than *Charles VII.* Charles leads his Army. and yet never did King of *France* make greater Conquests than he, since he may be said to conquer his whole Kingdom. But it was chiefly owing to his Generals, who for the most Part were Men of eminent Merit. The Duke of *Burgundy's* Remonstrances and Offers having rowled him from his Sloth, he drew all his Forces together, in order to approach *Paris*, where he was very much wanted. By the way he attacked *Monterceau-Faut-Tonne*, where the late Duke of *Burgundy* was murdered, whilst for his part the Duke of *Burgundy* besieged *Crotoy*, a strong Place in *Picardy*.

It was about the End of *August* that the Duke of *Burgundy* invested *Crotoy* with a strong Army, whilst four *French* Ships blocked up the Place by Sea. The Duke of *York* being recalled to *England* by the Intrigues of the Duke of *Somerset* his Enemy, was about to depart, and waited only for the Arrival of the Earl of *Warwick*, who was to succeed him in the Regency. This was the Reason, that not being able to take upon him to relieve *Crotoy* in Person, he commissioned the brave *Talbot* for that Purpose, whose Name alone was sufficient to strike Terror into the Enemies of the *English*. *Talbot*, at the Head of five Thousand Men, boldly advanced towards *Crotoy*, in order to relieve it, though the River *Somme* was betwixt him and the Duke of *Burgundy* incamped round the Town, which was situated on the other Side. As soon as the Duke was informed of his coming, he left Part of his Troops at the Siege, and with the rest went and posted himself on the River-side, to oppose his Passage. The Hatred the *English* had conceived against that Prince was

Crotoy invested by the Duke of *Burgundy*.
Act. Pub.
X. 674.

Talbot goes to relieve it.

1437.
A bold Ac-
tion of that
General.

The Siege
is raised.

so violent, that they thought nothing impracticable when the Business was to be revenged upon him. *Talbot*, taking advantage of the Mind they were in, rushed first into the River, Sword in Hand, and by his Intrepidity inspired his Troops with such Courage, that they instantly followed him. The more bold or rather rash this Action was, the more it wrought upon the Minds of the *Burgundians*, who imagining they had to deal with Devils rather than Men, took to their Heels without staying their coming. Their Terror having infected the rest that were left behind at the Siege, the whole Army ran away, and it was not in the Duke of *Burgundy's* Power to rally them. At the same Time the Duke of *York* appeared with seven Men of War in sight of the four *French* Ships, and gave them chase so briskly, that it was with great Difficulty that they escaped to *St. Valery*. *Talbot* entered the Town in Triumph; and having ordered the Trenches of the Besiegers to be levelled, marched back to *Normandy*. In his Return he conquered five or six small Places in *Picardy*; and after retaking once more *Tancarville* in *Normandy*, he came again loaded with Honour to *Roan*.

Success of
the Siege of
Monte-
reau.

The Siege of *Montereau* had not so happy an Issue, but however the *English* came off with Glory. *Thomas Gerard* Governor of that sorry Place, defended it a good while, maugre the vigorous Efforts of the Besiegers, though he had but Four Hundred Men. Hitherto King *Charles* was not very eminent for his Valour: but at this Siege he performed such Exploits, as began to give a higher Idea of his Courage. After a pretty long Siege, he carried the Town by Storm, having been himself one of the first to mount the Breach, and fight Hand to Hand with those that defended it. Without doubt he had been given to understand, that it was necessary to procure the Esteem of his Subjects by some extraordinary Action. The Intrepidity he showed upon this Occasion turned greatly to his Advantage. From thenceforward, his Friends as well as his Enemies, beheld him with a different Eye from what they had done before. Mean while, the Garrison having retired into the Castle, a second Siege was to be carried on. *Charles* satisfied

satisfied with the Honour he had atchieved in the First, and it may be sick of the Hardships he had undergone, left the Management of This to the *Dauphin* his Son. *Gerard*, who was no less brave than experienced, held out fifteen Days longer, after which he was forced to capitulate. When he came before the *Dauphin*, he very politely told him, that against any other but him he should have been able to make a longer Defence. This Compliment was taken very well by the young Prince, who was pleased to see himself set in some measure above the King his Father. But *Charles*, who was told of it, seemed to be extremely mortified at it. It is said, he began from thenceforward to entertain against the Prince his Son a Jealousy, which proved very fatal to him afterwards.

Whilst the War was carrying on in *France*, the Duke of *Orleans*, Prisoner in *England*, was thinking of Means to obtain his Liberty. Nothing but a Peace between the two Kings could possibly bring that about. And therefore no body was more concerned than he, to endeavour to set on Foot a fresh Negotiation. In order to this it was that he demanded Leave to go and talk in Person with the Duke of *Bretagne* at *Calais*, who was looked on then as the only Prince that could be employed as Mediator. The Council, who were all inclined to Peace, would have readily granted his Demand; but it was judged necessary to see first how *Charles* was disposed in that respect. Besides, the Duke of *Gloucester* was of Opinion, that a Peace ought not to be thought of till they were in Condition to make an advantageous one.

Mean while, as the King advanced in Age, the Credit of the Duke his Uncle sensibly diminished, and that of the Cardinal of *Winchester* daily increased. The Cardinal had a great Advantage upon his Adversary, in that his Riches enabled him frequently to lend the King Money. The Kingdom was so exhausted, that Aids of that kind were considered as the greatest Service a Man could then do the State. He had the Address to make the best of the Temper the King was in with regard to him, in order to prevent any fresh Attacks from the Duke of *Gloucester*. By Letters

1437.
Act. Pub.
X. 670.

under the *Great Seal* the King granted him a general Pardon for all Offences whatever, from the Beginning of the World to the 28th of *June* 1437. By this Means he disarmed his Enemy of all Pretence to attack him.

1438.
Plague
and Fa-
mine in
England
and France

The Year 1438 abounded with few remarkable Events. A terrible Famine, which ravaged at the same Time *France* and *England*, and was followed by a Plague, prevented the Generals on both Sides from forming any great Undertakings. Attempts there were however, some whereof succeeded not, and others were of little Moment. I shall therefore take notice of the most remarkable only. *Surienne*, Governor of *Montargis* for the *English*, finding himself surrounded with the Enemy's Towns, and receiving no Succours from *England*, surrendered that Place to the *French* for Ten Thousand *Salutes of Gold* (a). In the present Posture of the Affairs of the *English*, *Montargis* was of little Importance to them, since they could not possibly carry the War from that Quarter. Shortly after, *Edmund* Earl of *Mortagne*, Brother of the Duke of *Somerset*, having brought some Troops from *England* and joined *Talbot*, they made some inconsiderable Conquests in *Normandy*.

The Duke
of Burgun-
dy makes
another
Attempt
upon Ca-
lais.

The Disgrace which the Duke of *Burgundy* had received at *Calais* sat hard upon his Mind, and he wanted to retrieve his Honour by taking that Place. But as this could not easily be done by a Siege in Form, he went another way to work. He had been told, that by digging through a certain Bank the Town would be infallibly overflowed; and by standing ready at Hand with a good Body of Troops, it would be an easy matter to enter the Place, amidst the Consternation the Garrison and Inhabitants would be in. The Project was put in Execution. But the Sea being lower than the Town, all the Water ran out. The Duke having misfed his Aim, resolved to attempt the Siege of *Guisnes*. But the Earl of *Huntington*, who came very seasonably from *England* with a Supply of Troops, constrained him

Act. Pub.
X. 686.
He misses
his Aim.

(a) A Piece of Money worth about 25 Pence *Tournois*, (See Note in the Life of *Henry V.* p. 196).

him to retire. The Troubles in *Flanders* which broke out afresh soon after, found him so much Work for some Years, that he had no leisure to form any new Designs against the *English*. 1438.

The *Dauphin's* Marriage had raised such a Jealousy in the *English*, that after several Insults on both Sides, *England* and *Scotland* were come at length to an open Rupture. Mean while the Minority of *James II*, and the favourable Disposition of the Queen-Mother towards the *English* her Countrymen, procured a nine Years Truce from the 1st of May this Year. *Truce renewed with Scotland.*

John and *Thomas Beaufort*, Brothers of the Duke of *Somerset*, having been along Time Prisoners in *France* *, several Essays had been made to get them exchanged for others of the *French*; but there was always some Obstacle in the way. By Articles of Agreement made in 1430 with the Duke of *Bourbon*, that Prince had engaged to procure them to be released without Ransom. But as these Articles had been never executed, they still remained Prisoners. I do not know what became of *Thomas* who bore the Title of Earl of *Perth*. It may be he died during his Captivity. But this Year *John* was exchanged for the Earl of *Eu* of the House of *Artois*, who was Prisoner in *England* since the Battle of *Azincoût*. He was afterwards created Duke of *Somerset*, upon the Death of *Henry* his elder Brother. There was also a fourth Brother named *Edmund* who succeeded them, and of whom I shall have a great deal to say in the Sequel of this Reign. *The Duke of Somerset's Brother exchanged for the Earl of Eu.*

The Famine and Plague ceasing in *England* and *France*, both Sides took up Arms again. In the Month of *March* 1439, the Constable *Richmont* putting himself at the Head of a pretty numerous Army, went and laid Siege to *Meaux*, one of the strongest Places in *France*, which had formerly held out seven Months against *Henry V*. The Bastard of *Han*, an Officer of distinguished Valour, who was Governour, made so brave a Defence as astonished the Constable. However, after a Three Weeks Siege the City was taken. 1439. *The Constable Richmont besieges Meaux and takes it by Storm.*

* Ever since the Battle of *Senes* wherein *Clarence* was killed.

1439.

He continues the
Siege of the
Marché.

taken by Storm. But the Work was but half done, seeing the Garrison was retired into the *Marché* [or Market] so that Part of the City is called which is separated from the other Part by the *Marne*.) The *English* having broke down the Bridge of Communication, the *Constable* saw himself forced to begin on the other Side of the River a second Siege much more difficult than the first. The same Thing happened to *Henry V* when he invested that Place. Mean Time the *Constable* having taken the Governour Prisoner in the Assault, cut off his Head because he was a *Frenchman*. This is what King *Charles's* Generals had not yet ventured to do, by Reason of the great Number of Prisoners in the Hands of the *English*. But as soon as they found themselves strongest, they overlooked that Consideration, being no longer afraid of Reprisals.

Talbot
throws in
Succours;

The Siege of the *Marché* of *Meaux* growing every Day more difficult, the *Constable* drew round his Camp Lines with Redoubts to prevent all Succours, and the King came himself to the Army, that he might animate the Troops by his Presence. Mean while *Talbot*, who did not question but the Besieged would make a long Resistance, had already prepared Succours. How difficult soever this Undertaking appeared, he attempted it however. The Obstacles which he foresaw served only to spur him on the more. With a good Body of chosen Troops he boldly advanced towards the Besiegers Lines, and having attacked Sword in Hand and carried one of the Redoubts which obstructed his Passage, he entered the Place with a *Convoy*. On the Morrow he got out again whilst the Besiegers were still dismayed at the Action of the Day before, and went to prepare fresh Succours. But the *Constable* vexed at receiving such a Disgrace from a Handful of Men, pressed the Place so vigorously that he put the Garrison under a Necessity of capitulating before the Succours could be ready.

but the
Place is
taken.

He raises
the Siege of
Avranche,

The Siege of *Avranche* which the *Constable* undertook after that of *Meaux*, did not end so well for him. Having sat down three Weeks before that Place, *Talbot* with the Troops he had prepared for the Relief of *Meaux*, attacked

and

and forced the *Lines* of the Besiegers, and supplied the Town with Provisions. 1439.

After this Exploit, *Talbot* finding that the *French* were dismayed, and their Troops so much weakened that they were not able to withstand him, he went and appeared before *Harfleur*. ^{and goss} ^{and besieges} As his Army was not strong enough to form a Siege, he chose to block up the Town. To that End, he intrenched himself in an advantageous Post, in such a manner that an Army of fifty Thousand Men was not capable of forcing his Trenches. In the mean Time, the Duke of *Somerset* kept the Place blocked up by Sea. The Earl of *Eu*, lately arrived from *England* where he had been long a Prisoner, approached with Design to attack the Intrenchments of the *English*. But perceiving it impracticable, he chose to retire, after a faint Attempt, wherein *Gauconr* was made Prisoner. At length, after a four Months Blockade, *Talbot* became Master of this important Place which had been the first Conquest of *Henry V.* This done, he cleared *Normandy* of the Garrisons which the *French* still kept in divers Castles: So that they had nothing left in that Province but the Town of *Dieppe* only.

The Duke of *Burgundy* beheld with Grief that the Affairs of the *English* began to be restored, and dreaded the Consequences. King *Charles* waged War in a very careless manner. It was with much ado that they could prevail with him to head his Army. Besides, *France* was so ruined, that he could draw but few Succours from the Provinces he was possessed of. On the other Hand, the War in *Flanders* which wholly took up the Duke of *Burgundy*, gave but little Prospect of any Aid from thence. If the *English* had then exerted themselves to any Degree, in all likelihood they would have recovered a great deal of Ground. But either out of Blindness or Inability, they did Things by Halves, contenting themselves with sending from Time to Time inconsiderable Succours which were uncapable of making them regain what they had lost. Thus on both Sides it was easily seen that the War would be without End, if it was to last till one of the two King had lost, one after another, the Places he was master of. This Consideration

1437.

sideration was of such weight with the Duke of *Burgundy*, that he took a Resolution either to procure a Peace, if possible, between the two Kings, or to secure himself by standing Neuter. A Design of this Nature was to be managed with a great deal of Prudence and Caution, for fear both Parties should strike up a Peace to his Disadvantage, or the *English* should stand more upon the Reserve if they knew his Intention.

They begin
to talk of
Peace.

Whilst the Duke of *Burgundy* was taken up with these Thoughts, the Pope exhorted the two Kings, by the Cardinal of *Santa Cruz*, to put a stop to the Effusion of *Christian* Blood spilt in their Quarrel. At the same Time he writ to the Duke of *Bretagne*, desiring him to be Mediator of Peace. The Duke having sent to both Kings, found them equally inclined to enter into Treaty, and the Duke of *Burgundy* received the Proposal with Joy. The Duke of *Orleans* took this Opportunity to offer his Mediation to the King of *England*, jointly with the Duke of *Bretagne*, and to that End he renewed his Instances for Leave to go and confer with the Duke at *Calais*. This was granted him, though the Duke of *Gloucester* opposed it with all his Might, because he plainly saw that Prince could not be an impartial Mediator. But for some Time past the Duke of *Glocester* had lost his Interest in the *Council*, where they even affected upon all Occasions to proceed contrary to his Opinion. Besides, the Counsellors were so desirous of Peace, that they forgot, or else had a mind to forget, that the false Step which was made in sending Ambassadors to *Arras* was entirely owing to the vain Hopes the Duke of *Orleans* had given. So the captive Prince was looked upon as a disinterested Mediator, though it was easy to perceive he was entirely biassed in Favour of King *Charles*. The Duke of *Burgundy* saw with Pleasure that a Conference was going forward, which would either end in a Peace, between the two Kings, or afford him a Handle to conclude a separate Truce with *England*. The two Courts being thus disposed, Commissioners were appointed on both Sides to settle the Preliminary Articles of the Congress. These Commissioners being met, judged that in order to bring the

Act. Pub.
X. 685.

the Treaty to a good Issue, a Truce was absolutely necessary. Whereupon *Henry* impowered His to agree to one. But some Obstacles occurred which hindered it from being concluded. What has been said concerning a Peace was transacted in the foregoing Year 1438. But I thought fit to defer speaking of it till now, that I might not be obliged to break off the Recital of what relates to this Affair.

1439.

In the Month of *January* 1439, *Isabella of Portugal* Dutchess of *Burgundy*, and the *Cardinal of Winchester* conferred together between *Calais* and *Graveline*. The Result of their Conference was, that the two Kings should appoint a proper Place to treat about a Peace, with the Mediation of the Dukes of *Bretagne* and *Orleans*, and that they should send their Plenipotentiaries thither. Pursuant to this Agreement, the very Place where the Dutchess and *Cardinal* met, was pitched upon, and Ambassadors were nominated on both Sides. They were all chosen out of the Princes and greatest Lords of the two Kingdoms. But before we proceed to the Issue of this Congress, it will not be amiss to see how the Council of *England* stood disposed in regard to a Peace. Now this evidently appears by the Ambassadors Instructions extant in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*. Hence we shall be able to judge which of the two Parties is to be blamed for breaking off the Conference, and likewise to rectify several Mistakes which Historians are guilty of in this Matter.

The Place
of Congress
appointed.
p. 718.
The Duke
of Bre-
tagne and
Orleans
Mediators.

In the first Place, the Ambassadors were ordered to demand, that the King's Adversary should leave him in peaceable Possession of the whole Realm of *France*. They were to back this Demand with several Reasons mentioned in the Instructions, too long to be inserted here. Besides the Reader is well enough acquainted with the Grounds the Kings of *England* built their Pretensions upon.

Instruc-
tions given
to the Eng-
lish Am-
bassadors.

II. If the *French* should exclaim against this Demand, and think it unreasonable, the Ambassadors after a previous Protestation were to offer *Charles* the Provinces beyond the *Loire*, which were of the King's *Demefns*, but on condition of *Homage*.

1439.

III. If the Adversaries rejected this Offer, the *Cardinal of Winchester*, as a Clergyman, was to lay before their Eyes such Considerations as were proper to persuade the two Nations to Peace. These Considerations being very many and long, I shall content my self with relating the substance of the three Principal ones. The first was, that the War which had been taken in Hand for the Title of *King of France*, which each of the two Kings laid Claim to, had destroyed more Men then were left at that present Time in both Kingdoms. The second was, that the two Princes ought seriously to consider that God made not the *People* for the Sovereign, but the *Sovereign* for the People; that is to say, to govern them with Justice and Peace, to the end the Subjects may be the better able to serve him. The Third was, that *France* had not always been governed by one single Monarch, but that before and after *Charlemain*, there were often two, sometimes three, nay four Kings at the same Time.

IV. This third Consideration was in order to make way for another Offer which the Ambassadors had Power to propose, namely, that *Henry* would give up to *Charles* all the Provinces beyond the *Loire* in full *Sovereignty*. He excepted however in express Terms *Guienne*, *Poitou*, and all that his Ancestors had held in *France* before they came to the Crown of *England*.

V. If this Offer was rejected, the Ambassadors had Power to offer from the King their Master, that he would be satisfied with what his Ancestors had enjoyed in *France* by right of Inheritance, provided they would throw in *Calais*, *Guisnes*, and the adjacent *Marches*, the whole in full *Sovereignty* without any Dependence upon the Crown of *France*, or any Person whatsoever but God alone.

VI. If the *French* insisted that *Normandy* should be restored to *Charles* in the State it was in before the Conquest of it by *Henry V.* that is, notwithstanding the Grants of several Lordships made to private Persons, as well by the late as the present King, rather than break off the Conference the Ambassadors were to allow this Article.

VII. If

VII. If Matters were brought to that Point, that *Charles* would be contented with this Offer, provided *Henry* would quit the Title of *King of France*; in that Case the *Instructions* furnished the Plenipotentiaries with abundance of Reasons and Arguments, to be alledged against that *Proviso*. But in short, they had Orders to leave this Matter to the *Cardinal of Winchester*, to whom the King had made known his Pleasure.

It is manifest the *Council* had resolved to submit to that, if the Peace could not be made otherwise. For if *Henry* had absolutely been unwilling to quit the Title of *King of France*, there was no need of *private Instructions*, but the Ambassadors would have had exprefs Orders to reject the Condition.

The VIIIth Article was about a Proposal of a Match between the King and one of *Charles's* Daughters.

IX. If the *French* rejected all these Offers, and made any Proposals on their Part, the Ambassadors, without agreeing to or rejecting them, were to reply, that they had no *Instructions* to treat of a Peace upon those Grounds, but would acquaint their Master with them.

X. Mean while they were to get the Dutcheſs of *Burgundy* or the Duke of *Orleans* to propose a fifty Years Truce, with a free Communication between the two Nations. They had likewise Power to reduce the Truce to Forty, Thirty, or Twenty Years. And rather than fail they might limit it to three Years, provided it was to be without Communication, and to carry it even to eight upon the same Condition.

XI. In Case the Truce was accepted, they were to represent that in order to the better Observance of it, it would be proper to make an Exchange of some Places. To that End, they were ordered to offer *Meaux*, *Creil*, *St. Germain in Laye*, which were in the Hands of the *English* when these *Instructions* were drawn up, in lieu of *Dieppe*, *le Mont St. Michel*, and *Harfleur*, which *Falbot* had not yet got Possession of.

1439.

XII. Lastly, The King willing to facilitate the Exchange of these Places, agreed to release the Duke of *Orleans* for a Ransom of a Hundred Thousand Marks, and to abate Fifty Thousand on the Score of the Exchange proposed.

These *Instructions* were drawn up *May* the 31st, 1439. If we had likewise those of *Charles's* Plenipotentiaries, perhaps we should find that the two Kings were not at so great a Distance from one another, as they seemed to be at the Conference. But as upon these Occasions, the main Care of the Managers is to be upon their Guard, for fear their secret Instructions should be dived into, it often happens that the Negotiation is broke off before they have had Occasion to discover what they are empowered to offer, so much afraid are they of giving their Adversaries any Advantage. This was exactly the Case in the present Treaty. The *English* did not think proper to go beyond the second Article of their *Instructions*, namely, that *Charles* should have the Provinces beyond the *Loire*, on Condition he would do Homage to *Henry*. They expected that the *French* would give them room by their Offers to make some further Advances. For the same Reason the *French* kept to the Proposals they had made at the Congress of *Arras*, to wit, that their Master remaining sole King of *France*, would give up *Guienne* and *Normandy* to *Henry* on Condition of Homage. They extoll'd this Offer very much, and the Condescension of *Charles*, in being pleased to stand to what he had offered at the Congress of *Arras*, though he had since made great Conquests, and was become Master of *Paris*.

*The Conference
breaks up.*

It was next to impossible a Peace shou'd be concluded upon the Foot it was proposed by both Sides. Each of the Parties offered to resign nothing but what was out of his Power, and by virtue of this pretended Cession, expected the other should devest himself of what he actually possessed. This was properly to desire to get by the Dash of a Pen what they could not hope to obtain, but by many successful Sieges and Battles. So that, after the Ambassadors of the two Kings had long tried to dive into one another's *Instructions*,

in

in order to see how far their Adversaries were allowed to go, they parted without coming to any Conclusion. Each Party was willing to wait till there was room given to make more reasonable Proposals.

The Dukes of *Burgundy* and *Orleans* were the only Gainers by this Congress. The first had a mind, at any rate to ease his Subjects in *Flanders*, *Brabant*, *Holland*, *Zeland*, who were great Sufferers by the Interruption of their Commerce with *England*. To this End he set his Dutchess to work, who being a near Relation of *Henry*, was not suspected by the *English*. Under colour of doing the Office of a Mediatrix between the two Kings, she had frequent Conferences with the *Cardinal of Winchester*, and negotiated a Trading-Truce between *England* and the *Low-Countries*. This appears by several Pieces in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*. Accordingly a Truce was concluded presently after.

Act. Pub.
X. 713,
730, 736.

But the Duke of *Orleans* was the Man that reaped the most Benefit from the late Congress, since it procured him his Liberty after a Twenty-five Years Captivity. It has been frequently observed, that there were two Parties in the Court of *England*, namely, the Duke of *Gloucester's* and the *Cardinal of Winchester's*, and that the latter gradually gained ground, since the King began to have some Knowledge of his own Affairs. This Prince, having now attained to the Age of nineteen Years, had a very narrow *Genius*, and was not at all like his Father. He easily suffered himself to be governed by those about him. So far was he from having the Presumption very common to young Princes, he was ever distrustful of himself, and chose rather to follow the Counsels of others than his own. With this Infirmary he was endowed with Principles of Honour, Virtue and Religion, which indeed made him with he could always act with Justice, but which served for Foundation and Pretence to his Counsellors, to draw him into many unjust Things. As he wanted Penetration, he suffered himself to be carried away with Appearances. This was what his *Ministers* knew very well how to take Advantage of, assured as they were that he was incapable of discerning

1440.
*The Temper
of Henry
and his
Court.*

1440.

discerning their Self-interested Counsels. During his Youth he had contracted a Habit of blindly following the Suggestions of the Duke of *Gloucester* his Uncle, who governed in his Name. But when he was arrived to a more advanced Age, the *Cardinal of Winchester* and his Party hinted to him, that his Uncle intended to keep him always a *Minor*, and that he had Designs destructive of his Quiet. These Insinuations frequently repeated, had at length the Effect the Duke's Enemies expected. By degrees the King had such an Aversion for his Uncle, that he would no longer mind him. They made it their Business to mortify him upon all Occasions. His moving any thing in Council was enough to have it strongly opposed, and the King generally countenanced the contrary Party to the Duke, from the Apprehension he was under of giving him room to execute the pretended Design of keeping him in Subjection. Such for some time past was the Disposition of the King and Court.

The Duke of Gloucester is against releasing the Duke of Orleans,

The Duke of *Gloucester* had all along been against releasing the Duke of *Orleans*. The late King his Brother's Will was to him an inviolable Law. Besides, he was persuaded that the giving *Orleans* his Liberty, would serve only to augment the Number of the Enemies of *England*. But his Opposition was of no great weight; on the contrary, that alone would have been sufficient to induce his Enemies to favour the Duke of *Orleans*, tho' they should have had no other reason. We have seen what the Duke of *Orleans* offered before the Congress of *Arras*. The Duke of *Bedford* and the *Council* had accepted his Offers, which seemed to be very advantagious, because the Drift of them had not yet been discovered. Since the Treaty of *Arras* he had sat still, perceiving it was not a proper Time to sollicite his Liberty. But when he saw that they began to talk of a Peace, he renewed his Instances, and offered to become Mediator jointly with the Duke of *Bretagne*. He met at the *Council-Board* with the same Countenance he had found there before, and in spite of the Duke of *Gloucester's* Opposition, they resolved to accept of his Mediation, and to treat with him afterwards about his Liberty. He had Leave therefore to repair to the Congress, where he appeared

who is chosen one of the Mediators of a Peace.
Act. Pub.
X. 729.

1440.

peared very zealous to procure a Peace between the two Kings, and by the Help of the Dutcheſs of *Burgundy*, found Means to be reconciled to the Duke her Husband. The *Cardinal* being returned to *England*, ſpoke very much to his Advantage, and repreſented to the *Council*, that ſince it was not his fault that the Peace was not concluded, it was unreaſonable he ſhould be a Sufferer by the Rupture. His Friends improved on this Occaſion the two Reaſons already made uſe of, in order to colour the Favour which was deſigned to be granted him. The firſt was, that the Diſſention between the Dukes of *Orleans* and *Burgundy* might kindle afreſh, and turn very much to the Advantage of the *Engliſh*. The Second, that the captive Prince might be obliged to pay a large Ransom, which would help to carry on the War. In a word, they intimated that before he was releaſed he would be obliged to take the Oath to the King, which would be a means to tie him up from aſſiſting King *Charles*. So in ſpite of whatever the Duke of *Glouceſter* could ſay, it was reſolved to treat with him about his Liberty.

This Reſolution being taken, the Duke of *Glouceſter* thought himſelf bound, both in Duty and for his own Security, to enter a *Proteſtation* in Form, in order to let the Publick ſee that he oppoſed it to the utmoſt of his Power. The *Proteſtation* contained the Reaſons why he believed that the *Council*'s Reſolution might be very prejudicial to the King and *State*. Though it be ſomewhat long, it will be neceſſary to give the Subſtance of it here, becauſe it may be of Service in clearing ſeveral Facts. Beſides, it ſhows the Diſpoſition of the Members of the *Council*, who, to mortify the Duke, ſcrupled not to ſacrifice the King's Intereſt to their Paſſion. The Knowledge of this is the more requiſite, as it will appear by the Sequel, that to the fatal Enmity between the Duke, and the *Cardinal*, is to be aſcribed the unfortunate Iſſue of the War in *France*. The Sum of the Duke's *Proteſtation* was as follows :

The Duke of Glouceſter proteſts againſt the Reſolution of the Council.

“ My firſt Reaſon for being againſt the Enlargement of
 “ the Duke of *Orleans*, is taken from the Inability of
 “ King *Charles* and the *Dauphin* his Son, known to all the
 “ World.

The Proteſtation.
Act. Pub.
X. 764.

1440. “ World. Therefore, considering the pliant and subtle
 “ Genius of the Duke of *Orleans*, it is to be presumed that
 “ the *States of France* will entrust him with the Admini-
 “ stration of the Affairs of the Kingdom. Now nothing
 “ can happen more hurtful to *England*, seeing that Prince
 “ has acquired a perfect Knowledge of the strong and
 “ weak Side of the Kingdom, during a Twenty-five Years
 “ abode among us.

II. “ The Dissention between King *Charles* and the
 “ *Dauphin* his Son, being a Secret to no body, it ought
 “ to be feared, as it is but too evident, that the Duke of
 “ *Orleans* when in *France*, will be a proper Mediator to
 “ make them Friends.

III. “ *Normandy* being the Province which contributes
 “ the most towards carrying on the War, it is to be feared
 “ that the *Normans*, seeing that the Succours so often pro-
 “ mised both by Word of Mouth and Letter are not sent,
 “ and that on the other Hand, the Duke of *Orleans* is re-
 “ leased, will imagine that we intend to abandon them as
 “ well as the rest of the Conquests. As to its being said,
 “ that Twenty Thousand Marks may be taken out of the
 “ Duke of *Orleans*’s Ransom for the Defence of that Pro-
 “ vince, I leave it to be considered, whether that Sum is
 “ sufficient for that Purpose.

IV. “ The King and *Council* are very sensible that the
 “ Duke of *Orleans* acknowledges King *Charles* for his So-
 “ vereign. Let it be considered then, whether having ta-
 “ ken two opposite Oaths, the one to a Prince whom he
 “ looks upon as a Foreigner, the other to him whom he be-
 “ lieves to be his lawful King, he will chuse to keep the
 “ first rather than the last. This is so much the more
 “ improbable, as he will always regard the first as extorted
 “ from him, whilst he was actually a Prisoner, and as he
 “ cannot moreover stand to it, without forfeiting his Pos-
 “ sessions in *France*.

V. “ It would be proper to see what Remedy may be
 “ had, in case he breaks his Oath, under colour of obeying
 “ the absolute Command of his Sovereign.

VI. “ The

VI. " The Earl of *Huntington*, who commands in
 " *Guienne*, will in all likelihood be obliged to quit his Go-
 " vernment, because the King stands not to what was pro-
 " mised him by Agreement. That Province being thus
 " abandoned, and the Duke of *Orleans* being in Alliance
 " with the *Houses* of *Albret* and *Armagnac*, it should at
 " least be considered how we should defend that antient In-
 " heritance of the King, in case the Duke of *Orleans* joins
 " Forces with those two *Houses*.

VII. " The King has no Ally in all *Europe* but only
 " the King of *Portugal*. Now if he has a mind to make
 " Alliances with other Princes, how shall they be brought
 " to hearken to his Proposals, when they shall come to
 " know that he had no other way to preserve the Conquests
 " of the King his Father, but by setting at Liberty one
 " of his mortal Enemies?

VIII. " The Reconciliation between the Duke of *Or-*
 " *leans* and *Burgundy* lately at *Calais*, ought to make it
 " feared, that they will join their Forces to drive the *Eng-*
 " *lish* out of *France*, as they certainly may do unless God
 " interposes, so far are we from having the Prospect of any
 " Advantage by their Dissention. If any stress is laid
 " upon the Oath which the Duke of *Orleans* is to take
 " before he leaves *England*, let a Man examine by the *Civil*
 " *Laws* how far the Oath of a Prisoner is to be depended
 " upon.

IX. " If any of the Princes or Lords who serve the
 " King in *France* shall chance to fall into the Enemies
 " Hands, as it may easily happen, four or five might be
 " exchanged for the Duke of *Orleans* alone. But in case
 " that Prince is released, the *English* Princes and Lords
 " cannot fight for the King without being liable to utter
 " Ruin.

X. " If, as it is manifest, the Enlargement of the Duke
 " of *Orleans* occasions the Loss of *Normandy*, and the
 " rest of the King's Dominions in *France*, what will the
 " King's Counsellors be able to say for themselves? What
 " Murmurings will there not be among the People, when
 " it shall be considered that these Conquests, purchased with

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“ the Lives of the late King, the Duke of *Clarence*, the
 “ Duke of *Bedford*, and an infinite Number of Princes,
 “ Lords and Gentlemen, were all lost by this fatal Counsel?

XI. “ Lastly, Every one knows that the late King,
 “ wisely weighing the Danger which would arise from the
 “ Enlargement of the Duke of *Orleans*, forbade upon his
 “ Death-bed to release that Prince till a Peace was con-
 “ cluded.

“ And as it may happen that after my Death I may be
 “ accused of consenting to this Resolution, I humbly en-
 “ treat the King that this my *Protestation* may be recorded,
 “ and that I may have an authentick Copy under the
 “ *Great Seal*, to serve for my Justification”.

*The Coun-
 cil persists
 in their
 Resolution.*

The Duke of *Gloucester*'s Request was granted: but his *Protestation* did not hinder the Resolution of the *Council* from being put in Execution. The 2d of *July* the Articles agreed upon for the Enlargement of the Duke of *Orleans* were signed by the King and the Duke, the Copy of the two *Originals* is extant in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*.

*Articles
 with the
 Duke of
 Orleans.
 Act. Pub.
 X. 776.*

The Terms required of the Duke were much easier than those he himself had offered before the Congress of *Arras*. He was not bound to acknowledge *Henry* for *King of France*, or to swear to him, much less to give him up any Towns in Hostage as he had proffered to do formerly. They were contented with taking his Word and Oath, for the Payment of his Ransom, which was set at a Hundred and Twenty Thousand Crowns. It is true indeed, that by these Articles of Agreement he was obliged to procure the *Dauphin*, the Duke of *Bretagne*, and some others to be bound for the Sum of Sixty Thousand Crowns, which he was not to pay till after he had his Liberty. Moreover, he promised to procure the King *Letters Patents* from King *Charles*, whereby that Prince should ratify the Agreement, promise not to hinder the execution of it, and to account the Duke of *Orleans* base and infamous, if he should come to break the Articles. Finally, the Duke having protested, that as to the half of his Ransom, which he was bound to pay be-
 fore

fore he left *England*, it was impossible for him to perform his Engagement without going to *France*, Leave was granted him for a Year.

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The *Council* consisted then of Persons who blindly followed their Passions without troubling themselves about the Interests of the King and *State*. Of this we shall quickly see very evident Proofs. The only Thing that gave them any Disturbance, was that the Enlargement of the Duke of *Orleans* seemed directly contrary to the late King's Will. The Truth is, that Monarch had expressly enjoined by his last *Will and Testament*, that the Duke of *Orleans* should be kept Prisoner till the King his Son was of Age, unless his Liberty should be a Means to procure a Peace; but they found an Expedient to screen themselves from the Murmurs of the People. The King declared by a *Publick Act*, that in releasing the Duke of *Orleans*, he intended not to proceed in Contradiction to the King his Father's *Will*, but that what he did was purely with a View to attain to a speedier Conclusion of a Peace. The better to show that this was the King's Intent, the Duke was bound by fresh Articles to use his utmost Endeavours to procure a Peace between the two Kings; and in case he succeeded, his Ransom should be forgiven, and what he should have paid already should be restored. But if on the contrary his Endeavours proved fruitless, he should return to *England* and remain a Prisoner as before; but the Money he should have paid towards his Ransom should be returned him. It is evident, that these new Articles were only to throw Dust in the Peoples Eyes, since they were directly contrary to the others; and since they added a Condition which was not in the Duke's Power. In the next Place, this appears still plainer, in that the Peace not having been concluded, the Duke returned not to *England*, nor was ever called upon to do so. But he punctually performed the first Agreement.

He is set at Liberty.

Remarks upon a Mistake of the French Historians. Act Pub. X. 787. Ibid. P. 791.

All the *French* Authors have done the Duke of *Burgundy* the Honour to say, that he lent the Duke of *Orleans* Money to pay his Ransom. But we find by the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, that all he did in favour of his newly reconciled

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Enemy amounted to no more than this. He consented that his Dutcheſs ſhould promiſe in her own Name to ſend the King her *Bond* for Thirty Thouſand Crowns, which the *Dauphin* was to pay, or, in caſe of Refuſal, to become reſponſible for them. But as the *Dauphin* made no ſcruple to give his own *Bond*, the Dutcheſs of *Burgundy's* Promiſe became of no Effect. It is true, the Duke of *Burgundy* received the Duke of *Orleans* in a very ſplendid Manner at *Gravelin*, where they confirmed their Reconciliation. I have dwelt the longer upon the Enlargement of the Duke of *Orleans*, becauſe it ſerves to diſcover the Diſpoſition of the Court and Council, on which depend all the future Events of this Reign. Let us return now to the general Affairs.

Conven-
tions be-
tween
Henry and
the Duke of
Bretagne.

The Duke of *Bretagne* pretended all along to obſerve a Neutrality, though the Succours which the *Conſtable* his Brother brought from time to time to King *Charles*, could neither be levied in his Country, nor led from thence without his Leave or Connivance. If the *Engliſh* had been in better Circumſtances, they would doubtleſs have ſhown their Reſentment. But in the preſent Poſture of their Affairs, they thought themſelves very well off, that the Duke of *Bretagne* did not openly declare for their Enemies. Mean while, as the *Engliſh* and *Britons* moleſted one another at Sea, contrary to the Interests of both Nations, the King and the Duke thought fit to conclude a Treaty, whereby they mutually engaged not to ſuffer any naval Armaments to be made in their Ports, to the Detriment of each others Subjects.

Ibid.
p. 789.

Death of
the Earl of
Warwick.
p. 783.

Richard de Beauchamp, Earl of *Warwick* and Regent of *France*, dying in the Beginning of the Summer, the Duke of *York* was ſent thither again in that Quality, though he had been recalled before to give Place to the Earl of *Warwick* *.

If

* He died at *Roan* in *Normandy*, April 30, 1439, (ſays *Dugdale*) poſſeſſed of a vaſt Eſtate, the yearly Value (as appears from the Accounts of his Bailiffs in 12 Hen. 6.) amounting to 8306 Marks. 11 Shillings and 11 Pence Half-penny, at a Time when *Barley* was but 4 Shillings and Two-pence a *Quarter*, *Oats* 2 Shillings and three Half-pence, *Capons* Three pence a piece, and *Hens* three Half-pence, as appears from the Accounts of his Houſhold Officers.

If the *English* had been strong enough in *France* to improve the present Opportunity, never had a fairer offered to repair their past Losses. The *Dauphin* and all the Princes of the Blood, except the Duke of *Burgundy* and the Earl of *Eu* were joined in a League against the King. This League tended to no less than the dethroning of *Charles*, and setting the Crown on the Head of the Prince his Son. But luckily for him, the Confederates had engaged *La Trimouille* in their Party, and by so doing they entirely lost the *Constable*. As he mortally hated that Lord, his Hatred reflected upon the whole Party, and induced him to bring the King a powerful Aid, which enabled him to get the better of the Princes. This Civil War was called *La Pragueria*, but for what Reason I know not. The League was so ill managed on the Part of the Confederates, that the King at length compelled them to cast themselves upon his Mercy. In the mean Time, the *English*, who no longer carried on the War with vigour, made some Incurfions about *Paris*. But the Bastard of *Orleans*, who after having sided first with the *Dauphin*, was come over to the King, stopped their Progress, which was not very considerable by reason of their Weakness.

After *Charles* had put an End to this dangerous War, he marched back towards *Paris*, and in his way became Master of *la Charité* by bribing the Governour.

In the mean Time the Dutchess of *Burgundy* never ceased her Endeavours to get the Conferences about a Peace set on Foot again. At length after having laboured to compass her Ends this whole Year, she prevailed with the two Kings to appoint Plenipotentiaries to meet at *St. Omer*. The Duke of *Orleans* was made choice of for one of the Mediators.

This new Congress had no better Success than the former. The Ambassadors were now all come to *St. Omer*. But the Earl of *Vendôme*, Head of the *French* Embassy, refused to treat with those of *England*, on pretence that they were of an inferior Quality. They were however Peers of the Realm, namely, the Bishop of *Rocheſter* and the Lord *Fanhope*. In the Reign of *Henry V* the *French* did

1440.
Quarrels
in *Charles's*
Court.

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A new
Congress about a
Peace.

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did not stand upon such *Punctilio's*. They conferred without any Scruple with bare *Doctors in Law*, provided they were duly impowered. It is true, the Ambassadors nominated for this Congress were not of so high a Degree as the former ones. But as there was no likelihood that the *French* would be more moderate in their Demands, the *Council* did not think proper to put the King or the Princes or any of the highest Quality to a needless Expence. However *Charles* took occasion from thence to revoke the Powers he had given his Ambassadors. Thus the Congress was broke off without being ever opened. The *French* cast the blame on the *English*, pretending that the Court of *England* had pitched upon Persons of no Birth or Note, on purpose that they might not be treated with. The Truth is, both Parties generally aimed only at amusing one another by these Conferences. They both guessed pretty well what their Ambassadors were to demand; and as they were resolved not to grant it, they could expect no great Matters from these Negotiations. They consented to them however, as well to justify themselves to the Publick, as to try to amuse each other by the Prospect of a Peace.

Charles

takes Creil.

Whilst the Ambassadors were repairing to St. Omer, *Charles* was preparing an Army with Design to make a powerful Effort, and take Advantage of the Indolence of the *English*. As soon as he was ready he ordered Admiral *de Coitivy* to invest *Creil upon Oysè*, with a Detachment of the Army. The *Constable* having joined him with the rest of his Troops, the Siege was regularly formed, and the King came thither about the End of *April*, to take the Town by Capitulation.

He lays

Siege to
Pontoise.

This was only to pave the Way to a more considerable Undertaking, namely, the Siege of *Pontoise* which *Charles* laid in the Beginning of *July*, with an Army of twelve Thousand Men. He had with him the *Dauphin* his Son and all the Generals and Officers of Note in *France*. This Siege was at first carried on very vigorously; but the Besiegers showed no less Bravery. *Talbot*, whom the most difficult Undertakings could never daunt, being ordered by the Duke of *York* to get a *Convoy* into the Town, attack-

Talbot
throws
succours
into the
Town.

ed

1441.

ed one of the Enemies Quarters, and breaking through, entered the Place with his *Convoy*. This seasonable Supply inspired the Garrison with fresh Courage, who made so brave a Defence, that the Siege went on but slowly. Though the Besiegers were exceeding watchful, having to do with so experienced a Warrior as *Talbot*, they could not hinder him from throwing Succours into the Town three several Times. Nevertheless *Charles* was obstinately resolved to continue the Siege which he had undertaken at the Instance of the *Parisians* who defrayed all the Charges. But at length the Duke of *York*, having received from *England* a Reinforcement which increased his Army to eight thousand Men, approached the Town and sent a Herald to the King to offer him Battle. *Charles* sent back Word, that he should see what he had to do, and that he intended not to regulate his Time by that of his Enemies. He saw the *English* Army on the other Side of the River *Oyse*, which they could not pass but over a Bridge guarded by a Detachment of a Thousand Men. And therefore being under no Apprehension of a sudden Attack, he continued the Siege at leisure. Mean while the Duke of *York* resolving at any rate to relieve the Place, found Means to pass over in the Night with five or six Hundred Men in Boats made of boiled Skins. This Detachment falling unexpectedly upon the Guard of the Bridge, and cutting them in Pieces, opened a way for the Duke, who immediately came over to the other Side with his whole Army. *Charles* was so astonished at this Action, which he little expected, that he suddenly raised the Siege and retired under the Cannon of *Poissi*. The Duke of *York* followed him and offered him Battle to no Purpose. At last, having braved him for some Time, and plundered before his Face the Abby of *Poissi*, he retired, not thinking proper to attack him in that Post.

The Duke of York raises the Siege.

The hasty Retreat of King *Charles* before an Enemy much weaker than himself, was extremely injurious to his Reputation. All the *French* loudly murmured at it, but the *Parisians* more than all the rest. The King's best Friends were dismayed at it, and openly showed the Fears they were under, that so general a Discontent would prove fatal to him.

Charles suffers in his Reputation by it.

1441. him. In short, those nearest his Person having made him sensible how much he endangered his Reputation by an Action so unbecoming his Honour, he resolved to retrieve his Credit let the Consequence be what it would. Wherefore when it was least expected, he went and sat down again before *Pontoise*, and pressed the Place so hard that it was carried by Storm. He signalized himself in the Assault in such a manner as served to wipe out all the ill Impressions which his former Conduct had made to his Disadvantage. He was seen on the Breach, Sword in Hand, fighting with an undaunted Courage, and exposing his Person like a common Soldier. By this vigorous Exploit, he plainly discovered that if he delighted not in War, it was not so much for want of Courage, as from a too great Attachment to his Pleasures. Some Time after the Town of *Evreux* was taken from the *English* by the help of a Fisherman, who found Means to let in the *French*.

*He returns
before Pon-
toise, and
takes it by
Storm.*

*The Dutch-
ess of Glou-
cester ac-
cused of
Witchcraft
and Treas-
on.*

Whilst these Things were doing in *France*, a very strange Incident happened in *England*. I have frequently observed, that the Duke of *Gloucester's* Credit sensibly declined, or rather was entirely sunk. We have seen a glaring Proof of this in the Course of the present Year. This Prince was unblameable in his Conduct with regard to the King. Notwithstanding all the Spies which his Enemies had about him, they could discover nothing that might serve for a Cloak to the least Charge against his Person. But at length by narrowly prying into what passed in his Family, they came to know that his Dutches had frequent Conferences with [one Sir Roger Bolinbroke] a Priest who was reckoned a *Negromancer*, and a certain Woman * who was counted a *Witch*. This was enough whereon to ground an Impeachment of *High-Treason* against her. She was charged with making, together with these two Persons, the Figure of the King in Wax, and that by placing it before a gentle Fire, she intended that the King's Strength should waste insensibly as the Wax melted, and that his Life should be at
an

* *Marjery Gurdemain* of *Eye* near *Winchester*, who was burnt in *Smithfield*. *Thomas Southwell* and Sir *John Hume* Priests were accused likewise of being concerned with the Dutches.

an end when the Image was all dissolved. By this Indictment, their Aim was to make appear that the Dutchess's Intent was to destroy the King, to the end the Crown might fall to the Duke her Husband. At the same Time they would have raised in the King and People suspicions against the Duke himself. When the Parties accused were examined, the Priest denied all; but the Dutchess confessed that she had desired the Woman to make her a *Philster*, to fix the Love of her Spouse, which sometimes wandered after other Objects. Though this Confession did not make her guilty of the Crime she was accused of, yet the Duke's Enemies had taken such Measures, that the Priest was condemned to be hanged, and the Woman to be burnt. As for the Dutchess, though she would have been the most guilty, if the Thing had been well proved, they were contented under colour of the Regard they had for the Duke her Husband, with putting her to *solemn Penance* in St. Paul's Church before all the People, and condemning her to perpetual Imprisonment*. This was a terrible Mortification to the first Prince of the Blood, who had been *Protector of the Realm*, and all along shown an ardent Zeal for the Interest and Honour of the King. But his Enemies were so powerful that he found himself constrained to be quiet, for fear of giving them a Handle to fall directly upon him.

1441.

She is condemned to do Penance, and to be imprisoned for Life.

Charles had scarce taken Breath after the Siege of *Pontoise*, New before he saw himself in a very great Streight. All the Princes of his *House* were in a fresh League against him, with the Duke of *Orleans* at their Head. This Prince was highly offended at the cold Reception the King had given him, after a Twenty-five Years Captivity which he had undergone for the Interest of *France*, and even during which he had done him very signal Services. In all likelihood this League would have given a deadly Blow to the King's Affairs, if pursuant to a lucky Piece of Advice, he had not

League against King Charles.

* Her Judges were the Earls of *Huntington*, *Stafford*, *Suffolk*, and *Northumberland*, with some other Lords. She was kept Prisoner in *Chester-Castle*, under the Custody of Sir *Thomas Stanley*.

1441.

gained the Head by considerable Favours. The Defection of the Duke of *Orleans* having broken all the Confederates Measures, they were fain to have recourse to the King's Clemency. Thus ended the League, and thus end generally all Leagues of Subjects against their Sovereigns, when the Sovereigns are wise enough to find Means to content the Ring-Leaders.

Tartas besieged by the English.

The Rebellion of the Princes was not the only Thing that made King *Charles* uneasy. His Honour as well as his Interest called upon him to relieve *Tartas* a Town of *Guienne* besieged by the *English*. This Place belonged to the *House of Albret*, which for a good while had done great Service to *France* by the Diversions they gave the *English* in *Guienne*. It greatly concerned the King therefore to succour this *House* which was in Danger of losing the most considerable Place in their Possession. Otherwise it was to be feared that all the Lords of *Guienne* who were of his Party, would leave him and turn to the King of *England*. Mean Time the League of the Princes having hindered him from thinking sooner of relieving *Tartas*, it was not till No-

The Town capitulates to surrender if not relieved in six Months.

vember that he began his march to *Guienne*. The Town still held out, and it was *January* first before the Garrison capitulated upon a Condition which afforded the King more Time than he had occasion for to prepare for its Relief. The Capitulation ran, that the Town should be committed to the Custody of the Lords *Cognac* and *Saint Par*, to be surrendered to the *English*, if on the 24th of *June* next there appeared not a *French* Army strong enough to give Battle. But if it was relieved on the Day prefixed, it should be restored to the Lord *D' Albret*.

1442.
Charles advances towards Guienne.

Charles having all the Leisure necessary to get ready, spent the Winter in *Poitou*, where he drew a very considerable Army together, consisting of four Hundred Lances, eight Thousand Cross-Bow-Men, and as many Archers. All the Lords of the Kingdom having repaired to him, he counted one Hundred and Sixty Banners in his Army. In the mean Time *England* made no Effort to defend *Guienne*, or give the Enemy a Diversion elsewhere. The Council seemed

seemed to have lost their Senses, since the Duke of *Gloucester* had no longer any Credit at the *Board*.

1442:

With the Forces *Charles* had drawn together in *Poitou*, he humbled some Lords of that Country, who carried it there with too high a Hand. From thence he came to *Limoges*, where he made some stay. Then he went and passed some Time at *Montaubon*. There it was that he lost the brave *La Hire* or *Vignoles* one of his best Generals. The Relief of *Tartas* was not the only Motive of his Journey. There was another which touched him more nearly; and that was to become Master of the Earldom of *Cominge*, to which he laid claim by Virtue of an *Intail* upon him. As this Affair has some Relation to those of *England*, it will be necessary to shew the Ground of his Pretensions.

Death of
La Hire.

Margaret Heiress of *Cominge* had two Daughters by her first Husband *John* III Earl of *Armagnac* who died in 1391, and the two Daughters died likewise soon after. The Countess was married afterwards to *John d' Armagnac* Earl of *Fezensaquet*. But by an Outrage upon the Laws unheard of in *France*, she divorced her second Husband, who died with Grief in 1403. Then she espoused *Matthew de Grailley* Brother of *John* Earl of *Foix*, and had Issue a Daughter, but of so weak a Constitution that *Matthew* her Father was afraid the Death of the Mother and Daughter would deprive him of the Earldom of *Cominge*, of which he was in Possession. For this Reason he pressed his Countess, who was much older than himself, to make a Will, and intail it upon him after their Daughter. But the Countess refused to do it. *Margaret's* persisting in her Resolution occasioned such a Quarrel between her and her Husband, that he resolved to dispossess her, with the Help of the Earl of *Armagnac*, who was very ready to join in the Project, on Condition of going shares with him. Whereupon the Earl of *Armagnac* attacked the Countess, vanquished her, took her Prisoner, and with her Husband's Consent shut her up in a Castle, where she was confined Twenty-two Years. This rigorous Usage served only to exasperate the old Countess the more. At length in 1435 she found Means to make in her Confinement a Will, whereby she no-

Charles's
Claim to
the Earl-
dom of Co-
minge.

1442. nominated her Daughter *Jane* for her *Heir*, and after her intailed the Earldom upon King *Charles VII.* *Jane* dying some Time after, *Charles* was informed of this *Intail*, and as the Countess was still living, he formed a Design to free her from Imprisonment, and get her to confirm her

The Earls of Armagnac and Cominge cited before the Parliament of Toulouse. After he had made some stay at *Montaubon* he came to *Toulouse*, and ordered the Earls of *Armagnac* and *Cominge* to be summoned before the Parliament of that City. The Two Earls made their Appearance, not daring to stand out against a Prince backed with an Army who had it in his Power to compel them. Besides, seeing the Earl of *Armagnac's* Ancestors had voluntarily owned the Kings of *France* for their Sovereign-Lords, there was no room to decline the Jurisdiction of their Parliaments. He was forced therefore to bring the old Countess, now fourscore Years of Age, to *Toulouse*, where the Parliament decreed the *Intail* made upon the King good and valid. Pursuant to this Decree the King took Possession of the Earldom of *Cominge*. But for the sake of *Gaston* Earl of *Foix*, who had succeeded *John* his Father in 1437, he was pleased to consent, that *Matthew* his Uncle should enjoy his Part of the Earldom during his Life. The Earl of *Armagnac* was treated more rigorously. The King not only dispossessed him of the Part he had usurped, but moreover stripped him of the Privilege of the *Regale* * in his Territories, and forbade him to stile himself, *John by the Grace of God, Earl of Armagnac*, as he had done hitherto, and as his Ancestors had always done before him.

Cominge adjudged to the King.

The Earl of Armagnac is highly offended.

The Earl of *Armagnac* did not think he had deserved such Usage, after all the Services his *House* had done the Kings of *France*. If in order to espouse their Interests, his Ancestors had not cast off the Dominion of the Kings of *England*, he would not have been liable to appear before the Parliament of *Toulouse*, nor have lost the Privileges which the Kings of *England*, Dukes of *Guienne*, had never disputed with his Predecessors. Therefore he beheld with extreme

* The Right of which the Kings of *France* have of disposing of *Benefices* during the Vacancy of an *Episcopal See*.

extreme Vexation the Zeal of his Ancestors for the Interest of *France* become the Ground of his Oppression. He burned with Desire to throw off his Yoke and be revenged. But as he was well aware that his Forces alone were not capable to procure him that Satisfaction, he resolved to cast himself into the Arms of the King of *England*. Shortly after he sent to demand his Protection, with an Offer of one of his Daughters in Marriage. The Proposal being laid before the *Council*, it was judged that in the present Posture of the King's Affairs in *France*, the Alliance proposed by the Earl of *Armagnac* could not but be very advantageous. So without Loss of Time, Ambassadors were dispatched to the Earl of *Armagnac*, to settle the Marriage-Articles, and to espouse one of his Daughters in the King's Name.

1442.

He offers
his Daughter
to Henry.
Act. Pub.
XI. 6.

His Offer is
accepted.

Mean while, *Charles* having appeared before *Tartas* on the 24th of *June*, and no Enemy offering to give him Battle, the Place was restored to the Lord d' *Albret*, according to the Capitulation. They were not ignorant in *England* of the Preparations of the *French*, and yet they had taken no Measures for the Defence of *Guienne*, which was going to be invaded. *Charles* taking Advantage of their Carelessness, became Master of *St. Sever*. Then he went and laid Siege to *Acs*, one of the strongest Places in those Parts, which held out seven Weeks. *La Reole* was carried by Storm; and *Marmande* fell likewise into the Hands of the *French*. During the Winter following, which was exceeding sharp, *Acs* and *St. Sever* opened their Gates to the *English*: but the Earl of *Foix* retook *St. Sever*. *Charles* passed the whole Winter at *Toulouse*.

Charles re-
lieves *Tar-
tas*, and
takes several
Places
in *Gui-
enne*.

Whilst these things were transacting at one End of the Kingdom, the *English* were thinking of making a Division at the other. They should have thought of it sooner, that they might have diverted *Charles* from marching into *Guienne*. By that Means they would have infallibly preserved the Places they had just lost. But however, Orders being given to raise five Thousand Men in *England*, the Command of them was conferred on *Talbot*, whom the King had lately created *Earl of Shrewsbury*. *Talbot* landing

Talbot
made Earl
of *Shrews-
bury*, and
the Bastard
of *Orleans*
Earl of
Dunois.

in

1442.
*Exploits of
the Earl of
Shrewsbury in Nor-
mandy.*

*He block-
ades Di-
eppé,*

*and goes to
England
for a Rein-
forcement.*

*The Duke
of Glou-
cester ac-
cuses the
Cardinal
of Win-
chester.*

in *Normandy*, soon made the Bastard of *Orleans* quit the Field, who had likewise a new Title as well as he, being made *Earl of Dunois*. He presently laid Siege to the Castle of *Conches*, and to make a Diversion, the *French* General invested *Galardon*. *Talbot* having carried the Castle in a few Days, the Earl of *Dunois* did not think fit to stay his coming, who was marching directly to give him Battle. Then the Earl of *Shrewsbury* advanced towards *Dieppe*, a Place of great Importance, which the *French* still held in *Normandy*. He made such speed, that *Estouteville*, who was marching with the utmost Expedition, in order to throw in a Supply of Troops, could not arrive soon enough. Upon his coming before the Place, he formed the Siege, though with an Army little proportionable to such an Undertaking, and especially in the Month of *November*. The Truth is, he did not expect to be Master of it during the Winter, and without more Forces. But his design was to take the Fort of *Charles-Mesnil*, situated on Mount *Polet*, which hindered him from approaching the Town. After that he was in hopes to block it up so closely, that it should be forced to surrender. Having thus taken his Measures, he attacked the Fort Sword in Hand and carried it. And then ordered it to be made larger and stronger; and having mounted his Batteries, left the Management of the Siege or rather Blockade to his Bastard Son, and returned to *England* in order to sollicite a Supply.

As Matters then stood at Court, it was no proper Time for the Earl of *Shrewsbury* to succeed in obtaining the Succours he demanded, at least not so soon as was necessary. The Duke of *Gloucester* perceiving the King's Affairs grew daily worse and worse, brought at this very time before the Council an Impeachment of High-Treason against the Cardinal of *Winchester*. Probably, his Enmity to that Prelate made him look upon him as the Occasion of all the Misfortunes which had befallen the *English*. It may be, he had no other Design but to clear himself to the Publick by accusing his Enemy. And indeed, so well acquainted as he was without doubt with the Members of the Council, he could not flatter himself with the least Prospect of suc-
ceeding

ceeding in an Affair of that Nature. However this be, 1442.
the Impeachment consisted of Fourteen Articles, the Substance whereof was as follows :

I. That the Bishop of *Winchester* had accepted the Dignity of *Cardinal*, contrary to the late King's Orders and the Rights of the *Metropolitan See* of *Canterbury*. Heads of Impeachments.

II. That by the *Statute* against *Provisors*, having forfeited the Bishoprick of *Winchester*, he had procured the Pope's *Bull* to secure it, and by so doing had acted contrary to the Laws of the Realm, and particularly to the *Statute* of *Premunire* made for that Purpose.

III. That jointly with *John Kemp* Archbishop of *York*, he had unjustly seized upon the Government of the King's Person without being authorized thereto.

IV. That he had defrauded the King of his Jewels.

This Article was grounded upon the Cardinal's lending the King Money upon Pawn.

V. That being *Chancellor* of the Kingdom, he had sealed an Order for the Enlargement of the King of *Scotland*, and another to forgive that Prince part of his Ransom, provided he would marry his Niece.

VI. That he had deprived the King of his Revenues, by applying to his own use the Customs on Wool at the Port of *Southampton*.

Probably the Cardinal stopped by that Means the Money he had lent the King.

VII. That he had the Confidence to summon People before him, contrary to the Prerogatives of the Crown, and the Authority Royal.

He did this in all appearance as Legate. But he could not do so according to Law, without the King's Licence.

VIII. That he had procured from *Rome* an Exemption for his *Diocese* from all the King's Taxes, and thereby had given a very pernicious Precedent to the rest of the Bishops.

IX. That he had been instrumental in reconciling the Duke of *Burgundy* to King *Charles* and the Duke of *Orleans*, to the great Prejudice of *England*.

X. That

1442.

X. That being the King's Ambassador and Plenipotentiary to treat about Peace, he had sent the Archbishop of York to the King, to persuade him to quit the Title of *King of France*, to the Dishonour of the King and his illustrious Ancestors.

XI. That the Enlargement of the Duke of *Orleans* had been brought about by his and the Duke of York's Intrigues contrary to the express Order of the late King.

XII. That being *High Chancellor*, he had himself purchased *Crown-Lands* instead of hindering such kind of *Alienations* according to the Duty of his Office.

XIII. That by giving *Commissions* to such Officers in the Army only as were his Creatures, he had been the Cause of all the Losses sustained in *France*.

XIV. That he had sold *Captains Commissions*, and by that Means brought into the King's Service such as were incapable of doing their Duty.

The Cardinal is acquitted.

Act Pub.
XI. 20.

The Duke of Gloucester loses Ground daily.

They prejudice the King against him.

These Accusations were read in Council. But the Board had for a good while consisted of none but the *Cardinal's* Creatures and the Duke of *Gloucester's* Enemies. And therefore, under colour of being unwilling to meddle with the Prerogative Royal, the Act of *Indemnity* which the King had granted the *Cardinal* in 1437 was trumped up. The Duke of *Gloucester*, plainly perceiving there was no possibility of getting his Enemy condemned, dropped the Impeachment, and the King gave the *Cardinal* a fresh Pardon.

Certainly the Duke of *Gloucester* was in a grievous Case. Besides the Vexation he was under to behold those who sat at the Helm steering a Course contrary to that which the glorious *Henry V.* his Brother had chalked out, he perceived they made it their Business to mortify him upon all Occasions. The King his Nephew, who was so much beholden to him, suffered himself to be misled by the Artifices of his Enemies, not having Penetration enough to discern those who had only their own Interest in view. They made him consider his Uncle as a secret Enemy, that would rejoice at his Destruction, seeing he

was

1442.

was his next Heir. What is more, they inspired him with strong Suspicions against him, by representing him as a Counsellor whose Interest it was to engage him in wrong Courses, in order to draw upon him the Contempt and Hatred of his Subjects, and by that Means to pave his own Way to the Crown. It is no wonder that a young Prince of so narrow a Genius as *Henry*, should be blinded by such Insinuations. He had no Body about his Person that might help to undeceive him. He had for some Time seen none but his Uncle's Enemies. The *Cardinal* was ever watchful not to suffer any Person at Court, or at the *Board*, but what was devoted to him; and this he made his chief Business. He it was that had introduced to Court the Earl of *Suffolk*, of whom the King was so exceeding fond, that he saw nothing but with his Eyes, and did nothing but by his Advice. As the new Favourite was wholly indebted to the *Cardinal* for his good Fortune, he missed no Opportunity to insinuate to his Master that of all his Subjects the *Cardinal* was the Man he could most safely confide in. By this Means, he daily sunk the Duke of *Gloucester's* Credit, whose Counsels were always directly contrary to those of his Enemy. *John Kemp* Archbishop of *York* and *Cardinal* (a), was also a Counsellor wholly devoted to the *Cardinal of Winchester*, and an Instrument of his to confirm the King in his Suspicions against the Duke of *Gloucester*. Thus these three *Ministers*, strictly united together, ordered it so, that the King daily gave his Uncle some fresh Mortification. On the other Hand, the haughty and impatient Temper of the Duke of *Gloucester* not suffering him to brook Indignities without complaining and threatening the Authors, he hastened his own Ruin by the false Steps his Impatience made him run into.

In *September* this Year the Dutcheß of *York* was brought to Bed of a Prince, whom we shall see hereafter mount the Throne by the Name of *Edward IV*.

*Birth of
Edward
Son of the
Duke of
York.*

(a) Promoted to the Cardinalship by *Eugenius IV* in 1431.

1442.

John V Duke of *Bretagne* dying the 28th of *August*, *Francis* his eldest Son had succeeded him in the Sovereignty of that Dutchy.

1443.
Truce be-
tween
England
and Bur-
gundy.
Montre-
let.

The Year 1443 began with a private Negotiation between the King and the Duke of *Burgundy*. The Duke finding that Matters were in such a Way that the Quarrel between the two Kings was not likely to be decided, either by War or Peace, thought it his wisest Course to take care of himself by making a separate Truce with *England*. He was not pleased with King *Charles* upon several Accounts too tedious to be inserted here. On the contrary, he had reason to fear that *Charles* was reconciled to him purely out of Policy, and that in Case his Affairs should once come to be firmly restored, he might resume his old Animosity against him. For this Reason chiefly he judged it would be against his Interest to assist him any longer to finish a War, the prosperous Issue whereof might render him too powerful. These Considerations induced him to give his Dutcheſs full Power to conclude with the King of *England* a general Truce for all their respective Dominions. That which was made before, concerned only the Trade between *England* and the *Low-Countries*. But this which was signed the 23d of *April* included *Burgundy* and all the Dukes Territories in general. It was to last till one of the Parties should put an End to it, in which Case the other was to have notice of it three Months before-hand.

Charles
sends the
Dauphin
to relieve
Dieppe.

The Blockade of *Dieppe* was continued all this while, in expectation of the Supplies which were to come from *England* in order to carry on the Siege more vigorously. *Charles* perceiving the Place would be in great Danger if not relieved before the Arrival of the *English* Troops, resolved at last to send thither the *Dauphin* his Son, who pressed him to commit to him the Conduct of this Affair. It was not however without Reluctance that he granted him this Favour. He was not only afraid to trust out of his Sight this young Prince who had several Times already given Proofs of a turbulent Spirit, but moreover did not care to afford him Opportunities of acquiring Glory. These Considerations however gave Place to the necessity of relieving *Dieppe*,

Dieppe, which was reduced to Extremities by an eight Months Blockade. The *Dauphin* set out from *Guienne* with a Body of four Thousand Horse, and marched towards *Normandy*. When he came within Sight of *Dieppe*, he easily saw that the Fort of *Charles-Mesnil* where the *English* had fortified themselves, was impregnable on the Side next the Field. And therefore without hesitating, he resolved to enter the Town, and executed his Design, in spite of all the *English* could do to hinder him. Hardly was he in, when without giving them Time to breathe, he sallied out with all his Troops, and stormed the Fort on the Side next the Town. He was beat back three Times, but the fourth he carried it Sword in Hand. The *English* finding they were unable to continue the Blockade after the loss of their Fort, raised it and retired in good Order. *John* Duke of *Somerset*, who had lately succeeded *Henry* his Brother, arrived five Days after with a Reinforcement of five Thousand Men. Had he come sooner the *Dauphin* would not perhaps have got off with so much Honour. As the Duke found the Blockade raised, he could do nothing more than ravage Part of the Enemies Country, after having retaken some Castles in *Normandy*.

1443.

Lewis
raises the
blockade of
Dieppe.

The Duke
of *Somerset*
comes
too late.

Since the Departure of the *Dauphin*, *Charles* had at length quitted *Guienne*, and was come to *Tours*, where he diverted himself after the Fatigues of the War. But his Pleasures were somewhat disturbed by the News he received that the Earl of *Armagnac* had taken up Arms and seized that Part of the Earldom of *Cominge* which he had been lately dispossessed of. The voluptuous Life *Charles* led at *Tours*, was to him so full of Charms, that he could not resolve to interrupt his Pleasures so soon. He waited till the *Dauphin* was returned, and as he had behaved so well in the Affair of *Dieppe*, he dispatched him immediately upon his Arrival, to go and chastise the Earl of *Armagnac*. Upon the *Dauphin's* Approach, the Earl saw himself deserted by all his Friends, and the *English* stirred not in his Defence, though the King was betrothed to his Daughter. So the *Dauphin* became Master without much difficulty of *Ro-vergue*, and of all in general that belonged to the Earl who

The Earl
of *Armagnac*
takes
possession
again of
Cominge.

The *Dau-
phin* outs
him of his
Territories.

1443. had nothing left but the little Town of *Lisle en Jourdain* about Twelve Miles from *Toulouse*: The *Dauphin* kept it besieged a good while in vain. At length, desiring of putting an honourable End to the Siege, he managed it so, that he got the Earl to meet him at a Conference, upon his giving him a *Safe-Conduct*, and when he had him in his Power, sent him to the King his Father, who made no scruple to detain him. Two Years after he restored him his Territories at the Instances of the Kings of *Castile* and *Navarre*, who interceded in his behalf.

Makes him
Prisoner by
Treachery.

The Earl of *Armagnac*'s Misfortune made the King and Council of *England* grow cold with respect to the Match, of which there was no further Talk. They scrupled not to put that Affront upon an unfortunate Prince, who had it not in his Power to be revenged.

1444.
The two
Kings are
equally de-
sirous of a
Peace.

Since the Duke of *Burgundy* had made a separate Truce with *Henry*, the *French* were not so eager for continuing the War. The Truth is, they had no less need of rest than the *English*. *France* was utterly ruined by this fatal War, which had lasted thirty Years without Interruption, and by the intestine Troubles which the Quarrel between the Houses of *Orleans* and *Burgundy* had raised several Years before the Breach of the Truce. The Princes and great Men were disheartned at the Hardships and Losses they sustained so long together. The Country and Towns were become desolate. *France*, though generally well peopled, could no longer find Soldiers. Besides the Duke of *Orleans* who had passed his Word to use his utmost Endeavours to procure a Peace, being willing to keep his Promise, never ceased to sollicite King *Charles* upon that Score. The Duke of *Burgundy* pressed him likewise on his Part, and the whole Kingdom in general ardently wished to see at length an End put to so many Calamities. In *England* they were no less desirous of Peace. All the Money that was levied there, was swallowed up in *France* as it were in a bottomless Gulf, from whence it never returned. In a Word, the King was no Warrior, and his Council consisted for the most Part of *Ecclesiasticks*, whom the Cardinal of *Winchester* had brought in to strengthen his Party.

The

The *Council* was very sensible that the continuance of the War would by no Means gain them the Affections of the People. As the War had long since been disadvantageous to *England*, it was natural to cast the Blame upon those that sat at the Helm, rather than upon the King who only approved of what was suggested by his *Ministers*. The Duke of *Gloucester* alone was of Opinion, that they ought to do their utmost in order to take Advantage of King *Charles's* Weakness, and to reap the Benefit of the Truce lately made with the Duke of *Burgundy*. But the Duke was no longer in vogue, neither were his Counsels regarded.

1444.

These Considerations, which were very weighty on both Sides, prevailed at length with the two Kings to hearken to the Instances of the Duke of *Burgundy*, who urged them to consent to a Truce, that they might the more calmly set about making a Peace. It was agreed that the Negotiation should be at *Tours*, where King *Charles* resided, though it should seem by that as if the *English* were to come and sue for it. At any other Time the bare proposing to treat at *Tours* would have been enough to spoil all. But *Henry's Council* stood not so much upon Punctilio's. They were for having a Truce at any rate, and nothing appeared dishonourable to attain that End. We shall even see presently that almost every Thing was adjusted in private, before the Ambassadors set out for *Tours*. This Truce, which seemed to be grounded upon the Publick Good, was properly designed only for the support of the *Ministry*, who had nothing less in view than the Benefit of the Kingdom. *Henry* perceived nothing of the Matter. He suffered himself to be guided according to Custom, by his Counsellors, who made him believe that they had his Interest at Heart, when in reality they were working only for themselves.

*It is agreed
to treat about a
Truce at
Tours.*

William de la Pole Earl of *Suffolk* was appointed Head of the Embassy which was to go to *France*. The Earl had more than one Reason to desire this Office, as will be seen presently. Mean while, as he was not ignorant how ticklish a Step he was going to make, and how liable to be strictly inquired into, he presented to the King a *Petition*, which in all appearance had been concerted with the principal

*The Earl of
Suffolk
head of the
Embassy.
He acts
cautiously
in the Matter.*

pal

1444.
February.
Act. Pub.
XI. 53.

pal Members of the *Council*. He appeared in his *Petition* exceeding scrupulous with regard to the *Instructions* he had received, pretending they were vastly beyond his Capacity, though in all likelihood he was himself the Author of them. Then he modestly begged to be eased of the Burden of the Negotiation, or at least, if the King did not think proper to grant him that Favour, he would be pleased to secure him against all After-reckonings. Whereupon the King by the Advice of his *Council*, caused an authentick *Order* to be drawn, empowering him to execute fully every Particular contained in his *Instructions*. As in all probability, this *Order* was not to be shown but in Case of Necessity, and after the Execution, the King said in it, that the *Instructions* concerned not only the general Good of the Kingdom, but also his own Person and Marriage. A clear Evidence that the Marriage we shall speak of presently, was already resolved upon.

A Truce is
concluded
at Tours.
Act. Pub.
XI. 54.

The Ambassadors of *England* being come to *Tours*, forthwith began to treat with King *Charles's* Commissioners about a Peace. But after some Proposals on both Sides, which came to nothing, they agreed to a Truce, which was signed the 28th of *May*. It was to commence the 7th of *July* this Year, and end the first of *April* 1446.

ibid.
p. 58.

At the same Time, the Truce between *England* and *Scotland* was prolonged at *Edinburgh* for seven Years, to begin the 1st of *May* 1447, which was the Day the former Truce was to expire.

Suffolk
proposes
a Marriage
between the
King and
Margaret
of Anjou.

The Business of the Truce with *France* being over, the Earl of *Suffolk* proposed, or got to be proposed, a Match between the King his Master and *Margaret* of *Anjou* Daughter of *René* of *Anjou* who bore the Title of *King* of *Sicily*, since the Death of *Lewis* III his elder Brother. The *English* tax the Earl of *Suffolk* with making this Proposal of his own Head, without any Authority; but we have seen the contrary above. Not but that in all appearance he was the first Contriver of it; but he had taken the Precaution to get it approved by the King. He was willing to keep the Post he was in, and nothing was more proper to that End than the Marriage he had in View. He was sensible

His Motives for it.

sible that *Henry* was incapable of holding the Reins of the Government himself, and consequently it could not be otherwise but that his *Ministers* would be liable to Envy, and bear the blame of every Thing that should not be relished by the People. In this Belief he fancied the best way to support himself was to give the King a Wife, and the Kingdom a Governess at the same Time. To that End, it was necessary that the Princess which should mount the Throne, should be of great Parts, able to supply the Defects of the King her Spouse, and of a steady Resolution, which might afford a Prospect that she would protect the *Ministry*. It was necessary moreover, that he should be of such a Rank as not to be a Disparagement to the King, but withal should have no Ground naturally to aspire to such a Match, to the end that being entirely beholden to those that helped her to it, she might be always ready to support them. The Earl of *Suffolk's* Aim was likewise to be strictly united with the Queen, in order to complete the Ruin of the Duke of *Gloucester*, who was a continual Obstacle to the Designs of the *Ministry*. All these Requisites were found in *Margaret of Anjou*, Daughter of *René* King of *Sicily*, and Niece of the Queen of *France*. She was a Princess of a lively, daring Spirit, of great Penetration, uncommon Resolution, and not to be frightened by Opposition or Difficulties. On the other Hand, the Match which the Earl of *Suffolk* proposed was so advantageous, that she durst not have had any Thoughts of it, if several Circumstances had not concurred in her Favour. I do not speak of her Birth, which certainly was illustrious enough to give her a Pretension to this Honour. But she was so destitute of the Goods of Fortune, that her Parents could not give her any Dowry. To supply this Defect, the *English Ministers* extolled to the Skies her noble Qualities, which they said were more to be valued than all the Money in the World. Most especially they hinted to the People, that this Princess being Niece to the Queen of *France*, and to King *Charles's* Favourite, would be very Instrumental in procuring a Peace. This was too plainly showing how much Occasion there was for one. Accordingly the Court of

*He engages
to deliver
up Maine
to the King
of Sicily.
France,*

1444. *France*, who had perfect Intelligence of all that passed in *England*, made their Advantage of it, by engaging the Earl of *Suffolk* to promise in the King's Name to deliver up *Mans*, and the whole Province of *Maine* to the King of *Sicily*, on Condition that he should make a Present of them to *Charles* of *Anjou* his Brother. Thus instead of receiving a Marriage-Portion with *Margaret*, *Henry* purchased a Wife with the Restitution of one of the strongest Places in *France*, or rather with the whole Province of *Maine*.

He returns
to Eng-
land.

The Duke of
Gloucester
opposes the
Match.

The Terms being thus settled, the Earl of *Suffolk* returned to *England*, in order to lay them before the King and get his Approbation. This was no difficult Matter, since the principal Counsellors were in the Secret, and had already given their Consent. The Duke of *Gloucester*, who had never heard of this Match before, strongly opposed it for two Reasons which seemed unanswerable. The First was, That the King being already engaged to the Daughter of the Earl of *Armagnac*, it would be very dishonourable to break his plighted Faith, without alledging the least Excuse. The Second was of no less Force, namely, that *Maine* being as it were the Bulwark of *Normandy*, it could not be given up without putting *Normandy* in manifest Danger, as soon as the Truce should expire. But there was no regard had to these Reasons. So by the Advice of the *Council*, the King impowered the Earl of *Suffolk* to go and espouse the Princess *Margaret*, in his Name.

Divers
new Crea-
tions.

For Joy the Marriage was concluded, the King created the Earl his Ambassador, *Marquiss of Suffolk*, and upon *John Holland* Earl of *Huntington*, he conferred the Title of *Duke of Exeter*. At the same Time he created *Humphrey* Earl of *Stafford* *Duke of Buckingham*, and *Henry de Beauchamp* Son of the late Earl of *Warwick* *Duke of Warwick* *.

The

* In Consideration of his Father's great Descent, the King granted him Place in Parliament and all other Meetings, next the Duke of *Norfolk*, and before *Humphrey de Stafford* *Duke of Buckingham*, the which occasioning great Animosities between them, by a special Act made in Parliament, it was established, that they should have Precedency by Turns yearly, the Duke of *Warwick* to begin the first Year. But his Death shortly after put an End to this Matter. *Dugdals*.

The King's Marriage was solemnized by Proxy at *Tours*, in the Presence of King *Charles* and his whole Court, in a splendid manner, little suitable to the present Circumstances of the two Kings, and the Indigence of the new Queen.

1444.
The King's Marriage solemnized at Tours.
November.

Though the Nuptials were celebrated in *November*, the Queen came not to *England* till the *May* following, and on the 30th of the same Month she was solemnly crowned. She was no sooner with the King, but perceiving his Weakness, she got an absolute Ascendent over him. By that Means the Marquis of *Suffolk*, the Cardinal of *Winchester*, and the Archbishop of *York* bore the same Sway they had done before the King's Marriage. They stood in need of the Queen, and she for her Part could not do without them, since she had yet no other Creatures but those they had helped her to. For this Reason a very strict Union was formed between the Queen and the *Ministers*, which could not but end in the Ruin of the Duke of *Gloucester*, whom they all looked upon as their common Enemy.

1445.
The Queen's Arrival. She is crowned. A League against the Duke of Gloucester.

The Truce having been made purely with Design to bring about a Peace, this whole Year was spent in several Negotiations about the Time and Place of a new Congress. It was thought likewise that an Interview of the two Kings might forward the Conclusion of a Peace. Wherefore the *Ministers* of both Courts agreed, that the two Monarchs should meet somewhere in *France*, and to that Purpose *Henry* should repair to *Calais*, that he might be near the Place which should be pitched upon for the Interview. But several Difficulties arising about the choice of the Place, the Truce was prolonged till *November* the 1st, 1446.

The Truce is prolonged at an Interview of the two Kings.

Henry Chicheley who held the *See* of *Canterbury* thirty Years *, died this Year, and was succeeded by *John Stafford*, Bishop of *Bath* and *Wells*.

John Stafford Archbishop of Canterbury.

The Duke of *York* having nothing more to do in *France*, came to *England*, where the Court gave him a very kind Reception, and thanked him for the Services he had done the State. The King willing to show his Gratitude, grant-

1446.
The Duke of York is made Regent of France for five Years longer

* He was Archbishop but 29 Years. He died April 12th 1443. His Successor *John Stafford* was a *Bastard*, as were in the next Century, *Tonstall*, *Gardiner* and *Bona*.

1446. ed him a *Patent* for the Regency of *France* during five Years longer. We shall see hereafter that his Enemies would not suffer him to enjoy that Dignity so long.

A Subsidy granted for the War.

Truce is prolonged. A. & Pub. XI. 108.

The Parliament gives the Marquiss of Suffolk Thanks.

Project against the Duke of Gloucester.

The Parliament which met in the Beginning of the Year 1446, granted the King a considerable *Subsidy* for carrying on the War in *France* with Vigour, as soon as the Truce should be expired. But this pretended Design of continuing the War, was only a Lure to draw Money from the Parliament. Instead of making Preparations for War, Negotiations for the Interview of the two Kings, and the holding a Congress were continued with Eagerness. Mean while, the Truce was further prolonged to *April* the 1st, 1447. This shows that the *Council* intended not to carry on the War, though the Parliament was called on that Pretence. We shall see presently that the Truce was again prolonged, and that it was not broke but by an unexpected Accident, contrary to the Intention of those that sat at the Helm in *England*.

The Parliament might easily have seen through the Devices made use of to get Money from them, if they had not voluntarily shut their own Eyes. This was one of those Parliaments that are managed by the Intrigues of the Court, as it is but too often the Case. This plainly appeared by the Resolution they took to return the Marquiss of *Suffolk* publick Thanks for the great Service he had done the Kingdom, in negotiating the King's Marriage. Mean time, no body as yet had been able to see any Advantage accrue to the King or State, from an Alliance with the Family of the most mortal Enemy to both. Neither did the Parliament stop there. They addressed the King, praying him to reward the Marquiss; and even granted a *Subsidy* on purpose to make him amends for the Expence he had been at in his Embassy.

The Queen, the Cardinal of *Winchester*, the Marquiss of *Suffolk*, and the rest of that Party finding themselves firmly established, and having nothing to fear from a Parliament so much at their Devotion, began to contrive Means to ruin the Duke of *Gloucester*, who was ever formidable to them. The People, for the most Part, were for him.

1446.

him. Besides, as hitherto he was the presumptive Heir of the Crown, they had reason to fear, that in case he should one Day mount the Throne, he would call them to an account. The first Step they made was to remove him from the *Council-Board*. To give some colour to this Act of Injustice, they suborned Persons to accuse him of divers Crimes, the Principal whereof was, that being Protector of the Realm, he had put several People to Death by his own Authority, and aggravated the Condemnation of many others. Upon these Accusations, about which a great Noise was made at first, he was summoned before the *Council*. But he cleared himself with such Evidence from all that was laid to his Charge, that the *Council*, though entirely made up of his Enemies, thought not proper to push the Business any farther. It is not in *England* as in other Countries, where the Lives of the Subjects depend in some measure on the Will of the Sovereign, who appoints such Commissioners as he pleases, to prosecute those he has a mind to destroy. To take away the Duke of *Gloucester's* Life in a legal Manner, there was a Necessity of having him tried by his *Peers*. But his Enemies were well aware, that how great soever their Credit might be, the Body of the Nobility was not so corrupted, as that they could have any Prospect of getting the first Prince of the Blood condemned upon forged Crimes. Mean while, this Precedure raised such an Agitation among the *Londoners*, that nothing was heard throughout the City, but Praises of the Duke of *Gloucester*, and Curses against those that governed in the King's Name. These Clamours, which were plain Indications of the Peoples Affection for the Duke, convinced his Enemies that there was no Medium between his and their Ruin. And therefore, without further Consideration, they resolved to dispatch him out of the Way. The Queen, who was of a bold and enterprizing Genius, was the Person that stirred them up to this Resolution. This at least is what the Historians insinuate, if they have not said it in so many Words. And indeed the *Ministry* would never have ventured upon so bold a Stroke, had they not been encouraged by her.

*His Ruin
determined.*

1447.
The Par-
liament is
summoned
to St. Ed-
mundsbu-
ry.

It was not practicable, as has been observed, to put this Prince to Death by the usual Course of Justice; and it would have been too hazardous to have him openly assassinated. His Enemies were resolved upon his Destruction, but they had a mind to conceal the Hand that should give him the deadly Blow. To execute their Design with all the Secrecy possible, they devised a Means which the Queen countenanced, if she was not herself the Contriver. This was to impeach him of some Crime, that they might have a Handle to put him in Prison, where they should be able to compass their Ends privately, and without Impediment. To that Purpose it was given out, that a very important Affair required the speedy Meeting of a Parliament. Accordingly one was called for the Month of *February* next. In the Interim, the Queen and *Ministry* affected to load the Duke of *Gloucester* with Honours and Caresses, not to inspire him with Confidence but with Suspicions. They would not have been sorry at his absenting himself, or taking some other Step that might have given them an Advantage against him. With this view it was, that by secret Emissaries they endeavoured to fright him, warning him to take care of himself, and hinting that a Design was on Foot to impeach him before the Parliament of sundry Crimes, and several Misdemeanors; and that every Thing was prepared to get him condemned: That they had purposely made choice of *St. Edmundsbury* to hold the Parliament there, as a Place more proper for their Designs than *London*, where the People were too much his Friends. All this was hinted to him, purely to induce him to withdraw, and by that Means give himself some Appearance of Truth to the Calumnies they intended to blacken him with. But as he knew his own Innocence, he would not, by absenting himself, give any room to the World to believe him guilty. However, let him have done what he would, it was not in his Power to escape falling into his Enemies Snares.

The Duke
is confined.

The first Day of the Session of Parliament the Duke was apprehended and put into close Confinement, not having the Liberty to keep any of his Domesticks with him. To give a plausible Colour to this severe Usage, care was taken

to spread abroad that he was accused of having a Design to kill the King in order to sieze the Crown, and that he had plotted to go with an armed Force, and deliver his Dutcheſs out of *Kenelworth*-Castle, where ſhe was imprifoned. The former of theſe Charges found no Credit at all with the People. On the contrary, there was preſently a Commotion in the City on his Account, but it was ſoon appeaſed. As the People thought him innocent, every one imagined that he would come off now as well as he had done before. But he was allowed neither Time nor Opportunity to make his Defence. On the Morrow he was found dead in his Bed, without any Signs of Violence on his Body. Nevertheleſs, People were convinced that he was murdered. Some ſaid, he was ſmothered between two Feather-beds; and others that he underwent the ſame Fate with *Edward II.* To re-

1447.

*He is found
dead in his
Bed.*

*His Body
expoſed to
view.*

Mean while, to make good in ſome Meaſure the Impeachment againſt the Deceaſed, ſeveral of his Domeſticks were apprehended and accused of being in the Plot to kill the King. Whereupon they were all ſentenced to die, by Judges appointed by virtue of the King's Commiſſion, of whom the Marquiſs of *Suffolk* was chief. But notwithſtanding the Crime for which they were condemned was the moſt heinous, the King pardoned them all without Exception*. This Act of Grace was grounded upon the Conſideration of *Good-Friday*, and the *Assumption of the Virgin*, and the like pious and religious Motives. This makes it ſuſpected, that they had bribed theſe People to confeſs themſelves guilty, upon Promise and Assurance of their Pardon

*His Domeſ-
ticks con-
demned for
High-Trea-
ſon.
Act. Pub.
XI. 178.
The King
pardons
them.*

* Of Thirty two that were attached, Five were drawn to *Tyburn*, hanged, let down alive, ſtript naked, marked with a Knife to be quartered, and then a Pardon was ſhown for their Lives. *Speed* p 662.

1447.

Pardon beforehand. However, there was no Inquiry made concerning the sudden Death of the Duke of *Gloucester*. Nay, it was pretended, that he was notoriously guilty of the Crime for which his Domesticks had been condemned, though they had never been brought Face to Face with him. But as these Domesticks were not of the Number of those whom he most trusted, nor even some of the Principal, no body could believe that he would have been so unwise as to make them his Instruments, or communicate to them a Design of that Nature, if he had in reality intended any such thing.

*Hatred of
the People
against the
Queen and
Ministry.*

The Outrage exercised upon a Prince of this Character, so universally beloved and esteemed by the People, drew upon the Queen and the *Ministers* almost an universal Hatred which Time could never efface. The Queen especially was publickly charged with the Murder, and the Respect which was due to her was not capable of curbing the Tongues of the People. This however is the very Queen whom the *French* load with excessive Commendations probably because she was of the Royal Family of *France*. It is true, they very slightly pass over the Death of the Duke of *Gloucester*, and there is not one that undertakes to clear her from it. As to the King, it is probable enough that he was not consulted in this infamous Action. But whether he did not so much as suspect the Authors of the Murder, or whether he had not the Courage to call them to an Account, he can in no wise be excused but on the Score of his natural Weakness. I cannot leave this Subject, without remarking how short-sighted *human Policy* is. The Queen and the rest of the Duke of *Gloucester's* Enemies, thought his Death had placed them out of the Reach of all Opposition. But by the just Judgment of God, the Duke's Death was the very Cause of the Ruin of the King, Queen, and all that had been concerned in it. Hence it was that the Duke of *York* saw himself at Liberty to assert his Claim to the Crown; a Claim, which occasioned the spilling of Torrents of *English* Blood, and which he would doubtless never have thought of, had he had such

a Competitor against him as the Duke of *Gloucester* *. 1447.

Whilst this Tragedy was acting in *England*, the Negotiations about a Peace were carrying on in *France*. But as great Difficulties arose against the projected Interview of the two Kings, the Truce was further prolonged to *January* the 1st, 1448. *The Truce prolonged A.C. Pub. XI. 151.*

Mean time, the Dutches of *Burgundy*, by virtue of the Power she had received from the Duke her Husband, had lengthned the Truce with *England* till 1459, on Condition that if either of the two Parties had a mind to break it, the other should have a Twelve Months notice. After which, a new Treaty was made *May* the 4th, whereby the two Princes agreed, that the Truce should not be broken within the first four Years. *The Truce between Burgundy and England prolonged. P. 140. P. 171.*

The *Cardinal of Winchester*, one of the principal Contrivers of the Death of the Duke of *Gloucester*, enjoyed but one Month the Satisfaction of seeing his Enemy fallen. He was a Prelate much better cut out for the *World* than the *Church*. Accordingly, he remained attached to the former to his last Gasps. It is said that he died in a kind of Rage and Despair, that his Riches were not capable of exempting him from the common Fate of all Mankind, and to see himself by that Means upon a Foot with the most miserable. *The Death of the Cardinal of Winchester.*

Mean

* His Body was carried to *St. Albans*, where a noble Monument afterwards erected to his Memory, still remains in the *Coventual-Church*. He was called *the good Duke of Gloucester*, having had his Education in *Baliol College*; he became a great Proficient in Learning, and was a great Favourer of learned Men. He laid the first Foundation of the famous Library at *Oxford*, since known by the Name of *Bodleian*, from Sir *Thomas Bodley*, by whom it was wonderfully increased. Sir *Thomas Moor* gives an Instance of this Duke's Sagacity. The King coming one time in Progress to *St. Albans*, a Beggar born blind, as he said, recovered his Sight at the *Shrine* of *St. Albans*. The Miracle being noised about, the Duke being there with the King, desired to see him; the Beggar being brought, he asked him whether he was born blind? he answered, Yes truly. And can you now see, says the Duke? Yes, I thank God and *St. Alban*, replies the Beggar. Tell me then, says the Duke, what Colour is my Gown? the Beggar readily told him the Colour. And what Colour, says the Duke, is such a one's Gown? The Beggar likewise told him; and so of several others. You counterfeit Knave, says the Duke, how came you that were born blind, and could not see till now, so suddenly to know the Difference of Colours? And thereupon, instead of an Alms ordered him to be set in the Stocks.

1447.
The People
murmur a-
gainst Suf-
folk.

He makes
his Defence
before the
King,

who gives
him an au-
thentick
Discharge
Act. Pub.
XI. 172.

Mean while, the People perceiving that the Time appointed to procure a Peace was spent in vain, loudly murmured against the Marquis of *Suffolk*. They made no scruple to say openly, that he had betrayed the King and the *State*; that the Treaty he had made with the *French*, tended only to a Truce destructive of *England*, as it afforded the Enemy time to fortify himself; that he had engaged to yield up *Maine* to the *French*, in order to marry the King with a Princess, who had just given sensible Proofs of the Calamities they were to expect under her Government. These Murmurs were so publick, that the Marquis could not help taking notice of them. In order therefore to endeavour to silence them, he requested the King that he would be pleased to hear his Defence, that he might satisfy him of his Innocence. Whereupon the King set him a Day to come and clear himself, and heard him in his own Apartment, in the Presence of several Lords, none of whom were come there to refute him. He gave an Account of all he had done in *France*, wherein he was at no great loss to justify himself, since before his setting out upon his Embassy, he had taken care to be provided with the King's Orders. Having finished his Discourse, the King declared he was satisfied, and gave him *Letters Patents* under the Great Seal, whereby he acquitted him from all Imputation of Misdemeanor, and enjoyned all Persons under Pain of his Displeasure, not to accuse or speak ill of him. But this was not capable of putting a Stop to the Murmurs of the People. No body questioned but the King would be satisfied: but that was not thought a Reason sufficient to satisfy the Nation. In spite of the Marquis's pretended Defence, he was looked on with Horror, as he was believed to have the greatest Hand in the Murder of the Duke of *Gloucester*. Besides, the King's Marriage brought about by his Means, was considered as one of the saddest Calamities which could possibly befall *England*. This was the general Opinion of Town and Country. But the Court, where the Queen would allow none but her Creatures, stood otherwise affected. The *Ministers* had likewise for Adherents all over the Kingdom, such

such as found their Account in siding with the Court, that is those that held any Post or Office under the *Ministry*. All such made use of their Authority, and took Pains to stifle the Complaints and Murmurings of the People, who could not bear to see the Administration of the publick Affairs in the Hands of a Foreigner. The Truth is, the King, uncapable of holding the Reins of the Government himself, did little else but lend his Name to the Queen, who made use of it as she pleased. For his part, he minded nothing but his *Devotions*, wherein the Queen took care to cause him to spend his whole Time as, in the only Thing he was fit for, to the End she might take him off from the Thoughts of the Government. Some have been very desirous of making a *Saint* of this Prince. But it may be said, that he was one of those *Saints* not so much Praiseworthy for the Virtues they possess, as for the Vices they stand clear of, and to whom a great Weakness of Mind is instead of Merit and Worth.

1447.

Le. P.
d Orleans,

It was impossible that the Queen and Marquiss of *Suffolk* should rule the Kingdom alone without raising a Jealousy. People had not been used to see Queens take upon them the Government. Wherefore it was with great Uneasiness that they beheld the Queen exercising an arbitrary Power in the King's Name, who had no other share in Affairs, but to set his Hand without Examination to the Orders that were brought to him. The Queen's haughty Carriage, her Partiality in disposing of Places, and above all, the Murder of the Duke of *Gloucester*, had drawn upon her the Ill-will of the Nation to such a Degree, that she was every where talked of with very little Respect. Her intimate Union with the Marquiss of *Suffolk*, gave her Enemies a fresh Handle to spread Reports not much to her Honour. The Marquiss was no less hated than the Queen. He it was that had brought her into *England*, and in order to make the Match, had sacrificed the Interests of the Kingdom. But the King's Name was so revered, that besides those whose Interest made them side with the Court, abundance of People were of the same Party from a Mo-

*The Peoples
Disposition
with re-
gard to the
Queen.*

1447.

*They begin
to talk of
the Duke
of York's
Title to the
Crown.*

tive of Duty. It was therefore no easy Matter to wrest from the Queen and Favourite the Authority they enjoyed.

The Disposition most People were in with regard to the Queen and *Ministry*, inspired the Duke of *York* with hopes he should one Day be able to assert his Title to the Crown. He was by his Mother the only Heir of the *House* of *Mortimer* or *March*, descended from *Lionel*, Second * Son of *Edward III.* and elder Brother of *John* of *Gant* Duke of *Lancaster*, whose Posterity was in actual Possession of the Throne. But in all appearance he would never have formed any such Design, if the Duke of *Gloucester* had been alive, or if the People had not been disaffected to the Queen and the *Ministry*. Mean while, as it would have been very dangerous for him to discover his Intentions, before he had sounded the Peoples Inclinations, he took care to proceed in such a Manner, as that it should not be possible to convict him of having made the least Step tending that way. He contented himself with making use of some secret Emisaries, who industriously spread among the People such things as served to turn their Thoughts to his Title to the Crown. It was whispered about, that the *House* of *Lancaster* had usurped the Throne. That indeed, the Usurpation had been tolerable whilst the Kings of that *House* were Princes of distinguished Worth, and had acted for the Welfare and Honour of the Nation; that even, during the *Nonage* of the present King, there was a Prospect of his treading in the Steps of his Ancestors, and his being a worthy Follower of the King his Father; but that since he became of Age, nothing glorious was to be expected from him: That therefore the *English* could have no reason to support any longer the Usurpation of the Crown for the sake of a Queen, who, being sprung from the Blood of their most mortal Enemy, ruled the Kingdom with an arbitrary Power: That in taking a View of the Posterity of *Edward III.*, it evidently appeared that the *House* of *March* had been unjustly deprived of the Crown: That the Duke of *York* being the sole Heir of that *House*, and descended

from

* Third Son.

from *Edward III* by his Father's Side, ought to have his due Right. In fine, that his noble Qualities, his known Virtue, and the signal Services he had done the Nation, very strongly supported the just Title his Birth gave him. These Things dextrously spread among the People, began to gain the Duke of *York* a Party. But he appeared not himself: Every thing was done in private by his Friends.

Mean while, the Queen, the Favourite, and all the *House of Lancaster*, failed not to take notice of what was handed about concerning the Pretensions of the Duke of *York*. He might indeed keep himself concealed from others, but it was no easy matter to deceive such quick-sighted Persons, who were so nearly concerned in the Affair. As they did not question in the least but that all these Things were divulged abroad with his Approbation, they believed it requisite to lessen his Credit, by giving him some Mortification. *John Duke of Somerset* dying during these Transactions, *Edmund* his Brother, who succeeded him, seemed to be a very proper Person to set against the Duke of *York*. Wherefore, without any manner of Pretence, the Queen and Marquis of *Suffolk* managed it so, that the King removed the Duke of *York* from the Regency of *France*, before his Time was expired, and conferred it upon the new Duke of *Somerset*. This last was of an exceeding haughty Temper, and as his Brothers had been engaged in pretty great Contests with the Duke of *York*, he behaved to him upon this Occasion in such a Manner, that he made him his implacable Enemy. On the other Hand, the Duke of *York* very highly resented this Affront. But as it was not in his Power to be revenged, he dissembled his Resentment, in hopes that Time would furnish him with a fairer Opportunity to show it.

The Court takes from the Duke of York the Regency of France, and gives it to the Duke of Somerset.

In the Beginning of the Year 1448, the King, who was entirely guided by the Directions of the Queen, created the Marquis of *Suffolk* Duke of *Suffolk*. The Queen one would have thought intended to brave the People, by showing daily her Favours upon that Lord extremely hated by the whole Nation. By so doing she gave her own Enemies great Advantage, who only wanted a Handle to

1448.
The Marquis made Duke of Suffolk.

1448.

stir up the People against her. It is a false Step which those at the Helm frequently make, not to regard the Complaints of the People. As they are always beset with Flatterers, or ignorant of what passes any where but at Court, or imagine that as long as the Majority of the great Men are for them, the rest of the People are to be counted as nothing. But it often happens, that they find to their cost that the great Men and Kings themselves have no more Power than bare private Persons, when they are not backed by the People. This is what we shall have occasion to see more particularly in the Sequel of the present Reign. But we must first return to the Affairs of *France*, which will afford us yet Matter for several Years.

*Mans deli-
vered up to
Charles of
Anjou.*

In the Treaty about the King's Marriage, it was agreed that the City of *Mans*, and whatever the *English* held in *Maine*, should be delivered up to *Charles of Anjou*, Uncle of the Queen that was to be. But the Noise this Article had made in *England*, and the Duke of *Gloucester's* Opposition, had caused the Restitution to be put off till this Year. In the Month of *February*, *Charles of Anjou*, at the Head of some Troops, appeared before *Mans* in order to take Possession. The *French* say he besieged the City, and that the Duke of *Exeter* the Governor, not daring to stand an Assault, surrendered by Capitulation. But it is certain that the Duke of *Exeter* was not at that time in the Place, neither was there any Appearance of a Siege. The Restitution was made by Agreement between the two Courts, and *Henry* sent to *Mans* two Commissioners to give up the City to the Prince of *Anjou*. Just as he was going to enter, the two Commissioners met him upon the Bridge, and made a formal *Protestation* before a publick *Notary*, declaring that the King of *England's* sole Intent in restoring that Place, was to procure a final Peace between him and *Charles* his Uncle, and during the Truce only. Moreover, he reserved to himself the Sovereignty of the City and Province, and that in case any Attempt should be made upon the Right of this Sovereignty, he claimed a Power to revoke the Cession without injuring his Honour. *Charles of Anjou* heard the *Protestation* without

*Henry's
Protesta-
tion.
Act. Pub.
XI. 204.*

out giving his Approbation, and took Possession of the Place. 1448.

After the surrender of *Mans* to the *French*, the Negotiations about a Peace, and an Interview of the two Kings were continued. But by reason of some Difficulties, they were obliged once more to prolong the Truce to *April* the 1st 1449. It did not last however so long, an unforeseen Accident put an End to it sooner than it was expected. *The Truce is prolonged. p. 99.*

About the Middle of this Year *Surienne* an *Arragonian* who had served the King of *England* twenty Years, and was *Knight of the Garter*, and Governour of *lower Normandy*, carried by Scalado in the Night the Town of *Fougeres* belonging to the Duke of *Bretagne*, and got a great Booty. Upon this News the Duke of *Bretagne* immediately sent a *Herald* to the Duke of *Somerſet* who was then at *Roan*, and demanded the Restitution of the Place with all that had been plundered. The Regent replied, that he was extremely troubled at what was done, and would give the Duke of *Bretagne* all the Satisfaction he could reasonably expect. *Surienne surprises Fougeres. The Duke of Bretagne complains of it. The Regent promises Satisfaction.*

Mean while, as it would take up some Time to enquire more particularly into this Affair, and notify it to the Court of *England*, the Duke of *Bretagne* impatient of the least Delay, complained to the King of *France* of the Breach of the Truce wherein *Bretagne* was expressly included. *Charles* considering that his Affairs were in a good Posture, and those of *England* in great Disorder, as well by reason of the King's Inability as of the People's Discontent, took Fire at this News as if the Injury had been done to himself. And yet to look back on the Proceedings of the late Duke of *Bretagne*, during the whole former War, *Charles* had no great Reason to be well satisfied with that *House*. However, perceiving that a favourable Opportunity offered to renew the War, whilst the *English* thought nothing of the Matter, he sent a Gentleman to the Duke of *Somerſet*, and two Ambassadors to *London* to demand Satisfaction for this Insult. But at the same Time to make all Reparation impracticable, he insisted upon the Payment of sixteen Hundred Thousand Crowns to the Duke of *Bretagne*. *1448. The Duke of Bretagne carries his Complaints to the King of France, who takes the Thing to Heart. The King of France demands an extravagant Satisfaction for the Duke of Bretagne.*

1448. *tagne*, for the Damage he had sustained by the taking of *Fougeres*. This Sum was so exorbitant, that it must not be wondered at if the Court of *England* offered not to pay it down. Besides it was next to impossible that in so short a Time a just Calculation could be made of the Damages the *English* had done. They could not even help thinking it very strange that *Charles* should so eagerly espouse the Duke of *Bretagne's* Quarrel, he not being included in the Truce as his Ally, but rather as a neutral Prince who had frequently served for Mediator between the two Kings.

Answer of
the Court of
England.

Answer was returned however to the Ambassadors, that the King would take care to make the Duke amends, as soon as it should be known what his Loss might amount to; and that if *Charles* would send Ambassadors to *Louviers*, the King of *England* would do the same, in order to settle all Things to the common Satisfaction of the two Kings and the Duke of *Bretagne*.

The Conference at
Louviers,

At the Congress held at *Louviers*, the *English* represented, that the taking of *Fougeres* was done without Orders: and that the Regent knew nothing of the Matter before it was over. They exclaimed likewise against the Sum demanded, as vastly beyond what the Duke of *Bretagne* could lawfully challenge. But the *French* plainly told them, that if they gave not the Duke the Satisfaction their Master demanded, he held the Truce for broken. This haughty and peremptory way of treating on *Charles's* Part, seemed very strange to the *English*; but the *French* resolutely persisting in their first Demand, the Conference broke up, and nothing was done.

to no Purpose.

Charles
seeks occasion
to renew
the War.

So bent was *Charles* upon renewing the War, whilst the King of *England* was unprovided for his Defense, that in case the *English* had resolved to give the Satisfaction required, he had another Pretence ready for a Rupture. He pretended they had violated the Truce with *Scotland*, and that he was obliged to take in Hand the Cause of the *Scots*. Indeed there had been a Conflict between the *English* and *Scots*, wherein the *English* had been worsted. *Buchanan* makes it a pitched Battle, and says, the *English* lost three Thousand Men. However this Affair does not seem to have

have been of so great Consequence, seeing it was presently stifled. This Year the two Nations renewed their Truce without setting any fixed Time to it. Only it was agreed, that if either of the two Kings should have a Mind to break it, he should give the other warning of it so long beforehand. However, King *James* had not desired *Charles* to take his Quarrel upon him, and consequently it is evident, that *Charles* sought an Occasion of breaking with the King of *England*.

1443.

Whilst *Charles* was making his Preparations, he amused the *English* with fruitless Negotiations. One cannot enough wonder at the Imprudence of the Court of *England* at this Juncture. They knew neither how to preserve the Truce, nor prepare for War. If they had been willing to avoid a Rupture, they should at least have restored *Fougeres* to the Duke of *Bretagne*, with Promise of Amends for all Damages. But they kept that Place without using hardly any Endeavour to appease the incensed Duke. A Spirit of Inconsideration seemed to have seized the Council, where greater Care was taken to thrust in the Queen's and Duke of *Suffolk's* Creatures, than Persons qualified to manage the Publick Affairs. To see the Indolence of the Queen upon this Occasion, one would have thought that finding herself without Issue, she was in a Plot with the King's Enemies, in order to dispossess him of all he still held in *France*. If she and her Favourites and *Ministers*, or even the whole Council had such a Design, they succeeded but too well in it. However that be, the Faults they committed upon this Occasion cannot be excused, but by the Consideration of the Haughtiness wherewith *Charles* acted, who rendered an Accommodation impracticable. But at the same Time they should have provided for their Defense.

1449.

Imprud.nes
of the
Council of
England.

As soon as *Charles* saw himself in Condition to renew the War, he caused the Castle of *Conches*, and *Pont de l'Arche* in *Normandy*, and about the same time *Gerboy* in *Beavoisis*, *Cognac*, and *St. Maigrin* in *Guienne*, to be taken by Surprise in the Duke of *Bretagne's* Name. The *English* complained in their Turn of the violation of the Truce; but they were told that it was by way of Reprisals for *Fougeres*.

Charles
surprises
several
Places of
the English
by way of
Reprisals
for Fou-
geres.

1449.

geres. Thus the War was rekindled at a Juncture very disadvantageous to the *English*. As they had made no Preparations, the Duke of *Somerset* Regent of *France*, was destitute of Forces when he stood in most need of them. *Charles* had therefore the Way open to push his Conquests. This gives room to believe that *Fougeres* were surprized without the Knowledge of the Court of *England*. Otherwise one cannot help thinking, either that the *Ministers* had lost their Senses, in not preparing to back their Enterprize, or that they had among them Traitors, who had a mind by that Means to re-engage the *English* in War, before they had any Thing ready. Certainly when a Man considers that the Court acted so remissly in satisfying the Duke of *Bretagne*, and so carelessly in providing for the War, he is at a loss what to think of such Management.

Charles
acts against
Normandy
with four
Armies.

Charles's chief Aim was to recover *Normandy*, and to that End he had prepared four Armies. A plain Demonstration he was not desirous that the Business of *Fougeres* should end in an Accommodation. Since the Congress of *Louviers*, which broke up in *April*, he would not have had Time to put so many Forces on Foot. The first of these Armies he headed himself. The Earl of *Dunois* lately made Earl of *Longueville* and Generalissimo of the King's Forces under the *Constable*, commanded the Second. The Duke of *Alençon* had the Command of the Third, and the Duke of *Bretagne* led the Fourth, consisting wholly of his own Troops. All the Towns in *Normandy* were ill provided with Men and Ammunition. Most of the Governours depending upon the Truce, were gone to *England*. So the *French* Armies had nothing more to do than to appear before the Towns in order to carry them. Several Places did not stay to be attacked. Some rise up against the *English* Garrisons and drove them away. Others were sold by the commanding Officers. *Pont Audemer* and *Chateau Gaillard* were the only Places that made a tolerable Defence. In short, not to enter into the Particulars of all the Sieges, whether real or feigned, it will suffice to say in a Word, that before the Campaign was over, *Charles* saw himself in Condition to go and besiege *Roan*, where he had some Friends.

Friends. Having drawn together all his Forces, which made a Body of fifty Thousand Men, he ordered the Capital of *Normandy* to be invested upon the 8th of *October*. He would not form a regular Siege, being well assured that the Duke of *Somerset* and Earl of *Shrewsbury*, who were shut up there with three Thousand Men only, would not be able to stand against the Inhabitants who had promised to rise in his Favour. And indeed within a few Days the Earl of *Dunois* was going to be let in at St. *Hilary's* Gate with three Hundred Men, if the Earl of *Shrewsbury* had not come just in the Nick of Time, and beat back that Detachment.

1449.
He invests
Roan.

The Inhabitants, notwithstanding this Disappointment, persisted in their Resolution. On the 19th of *October* the whole City having taken up Arms with one Consent, all that the Duke of *Somerset* could do, was to distribute his Garrison in some of the most advantageous Posts. But the *French* being let in, quickly drove them from all their Posts Sword in Hand. There was only the Palace left, where the Duke of *Somerset* and Earl of *Shrewsbury* had posted themselves with eight Hundred Men. As they foresaw that they should soon be in want of Provisions, the Duke desired to speak with the King in order to capitulate. His Request being granted, he offered to retire upon honourable Terms. But the King insisted upon his surrendering at Discretion, unless he would treat for the rest of *Normandy*. Not being able to settle this Point, the Duke returned to the Palace and held out ten or twelve Days longer. At last he was fain to capitulate, on Condition of leaving behind all his Artillery, paying fifty Thousand Crowns of Gold, and yielding up to the King *Candebeac, Arques, Lillebonne, Tancarville, Montrevilliers, and Harfleur*. The Earl of *Shrewsbury* was left in Hostage for Security of this Engagement, and the *English* Garrison marched out of *Roan*, where *Charles* made his Entry on the 19th of *November*. The Governour of *Harfleur* not thinking fit to comply with this Capitulation, the Earl of *Longueville* was detached by the King to go and besiege that Place, which surrendered in the Beginning of *January*. Though *Charles* might justly

The Citizens open
the Gates
to the
French.

The Duke
of Somerset
surrenders upon
Terms.

Siege and
taking of
Harfleur.

1449. ly have detained the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, since the Capitulation of *Roan* had not been kept by the *English*, he was pleased, as a Mark of his Esteem to give him his Liberty without Ransom. In the mean Time the Earl of *Foix*, who commanded in *Guienne* for King *Charles*, took the Castle of *Maulcon*, standing upon an inaccessible Rock. Thus ended the first Campaign which proved so fatal to the *English*.

The Earl
of Foix
takes
Maulcon.

Rebellion
in Ireland.

The Duke
of York
sent thi-
ther.

He sup-
presses the
Rebellion.

Besides the Concern which the Court of *England* was under on account of the ill Posture of Affairs in *France*, a Rebellion raised in *Ireland* at the same Time gave the *Ministry* a fresh Cause of Uneasiness. Nevertheless the Queen and Marquis of *Suffolk* reaped some Advantage by these Commotions, as they furnished them with a Pretence to send off the Duke of *York*. This Prince beginning to be an Eye-sore to them, they made him Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, under Colour that no Body could suppress the Rebellion so well as he. But withal they gave him but few Troops for that Purpose. They were in hopes that either he would perish in the Attempt, or forfeit his Reputation. The Duke smelt their Design, and had the Address to turn against themselves the Devices they laid for his Ruin. He ordered Matters so, that by his mild and obliging Behaviour he won the *Irish*, and brought them back to their Duty without being obliged to use any Force. What is more, he found Means to make them his Friends in such a manner that from thenceforward they were always devoted to the Service of himself and his Family, even in the midst of his greatest Misfortunes.

1450.
Complaints
of the Peo-
ple against
the Duke
of Suffolk
and the
Queen.

The universal Confusion of the Affairs of *France*, the Negligence of the Court in that Respect, the Loss of almost all *Normandy* in one single Campaign, after the shedding of so much Blood in the Conquest of it, began at length to stir up openly the impatient Temper of the *English*. The whole Kingdom rung with Complaints against the Duke of *Suffolk*. It was publicly said, that he had betrayed the *State*, and that *Maine* the Key of *Normandy* had been given up to the *French* on the Score of a Marriage, which was advantageous to none but himself alone. He was accused of

being

1450.

being the principal Contriver of the Death of the Duke of *Gloucester*, for fear that clear-sighted Prince should see through his treasonable Practices. People complained that there were but few Persons of Parts, and still fewer of Honesty in the *Council*; that on the contrary the *Board* was filled with wicked Counsellors, without Principles of Honour or Religion, to the end no Consideration might hinder them from being wholly devoted to the Will and Pleasure of the Queen and her *Minister*: That it was the same Thing with regard to those in publick Posts, in whom Honesty and Ability were not so much required, as an Attachment to the *Ministry*. They were no less dissatisfied with the Queen. They complained that she ruled with insupportable Pride a free Nation, which had been used to be governed solely by Laws, and had never bore with a despotick Power, adding that the Usurpation of such a Power was not to be suffered even in a King, much less in a foreign Queen. They took notice likewise, that by Degrees she had turned out of the *Council* all those that gave her any Umbrage, in order to substitute in their Room such as were at her beck, without troubling herself whether they were fit for so high an Office.

In this Temper were the People when the Parliament met in the Beginning of the Year 1450. The Court stood in need of a Parliament for an Aid to enable them to set Things to rights in *France*: Otherwise they saw themselves obliged entirely to throw up Matters there; and by that Means give their Enemies a further Handle against them. The Queen soon found that the general Discontent had seized the very Members of Parliament. She believed she could carry her Point by causing the Parliament to be removed to *Leicester*, where she was in hopes she should have greater Sway than at *London*, of whose Inhabitants she was jealous. But she met with so strong Opposition from the Lords that she was fain to drop her Design. In all likelihood they were afraid of something like what had been done at *St. Edmunds-bury* with regard to the Duke of *Gloucester*.

The Parliament meets.

The Queen tries in vain to adjourn it to Leicester.

1450.

Upon the meeting of the Parliament, the *lower House* exhibited before the Lords an Impeachment against the Earl of *Suffolk*, containing the following Articles.

*Articles of
Impeach-
ment a-
gainst Suf-
folk.*

I. That the Duke of *Suffolk* had treated with the Bastard of *Orleans* and the other *French* Ambassadors to persuade King *Charles* to invade *England*. That his End in this, was to place his Son on the Throne, by marrying him with *Margaret* only Daughter of *John* Duke of *Somerset*.

II. That being bribed by the *French*, he had set the Duke of *Orleans* at Liberty, against the exprefs Orders of the late King.

III. That *Normandy* was invaded by his Means, and by his Counsels.

IV. That being Ambassador in *France*, he had engaged to get *Maine* restored to the *French*, without letting the rest of the Ambassadors know any thing of the Matter, and that he had imposed upon the King and *Council*, in order to get them to ratify his Engagement.

V. That he had informed the Enemies of the Weakness of the *English* Towns in *France*, and encouraged them to assault them.

VI. That he had disclosed the Secrets of the *Council* to the Enemies of the *State*.

VII. That he had hindered the Conclusion of a Peace, by discovering the Weakness of *England*.

VIII. That he had made his Boasts, in the Hearing of several Lords, that his Credit at the Court of *France* was no less than at that of *England*.

IX. That he had obstructed the sending of Succours to *France*, that the Enemies might make the greater Progress.

X. That he had included in the Treaty of Truce, neither the King of *Arragon* nor Duke of *Bretagne*, and by that affected Omission *England* had lost those two Allies.

*The Duke's
Defence.*

The Duke of *Suffolk* replied to these Accusations, by a formal Denial of the greatest Part, and demanded that the Evidences they pretended to go upon, might be communicated

cated to him. As to the Articles which he owned, he produced the King's express Orders. But that was not sufficient to justify him, since his chief Crime was the making an ill use of his Credit with the King, and imposing upon the *Council*. Historians remark, that he cleared himself of all but the last Article relating to the Duke of *Bretagne*. Indeed, it is certain that in the first Treaty of Truce concluded at *Tours*, and in several subsequent ones made to prolong the Truce, the Duke of *Bretagne* was not included but on the Part of *France*. This is a Mystery not very easy to be unravelled. We have seen heretofore that the Duke of *Bedford* had obliged the Duke of *Bretagne* to renounce the Alliance of *Charles*, and acknowledge *Henry* for King of *France*. Since that Time, there had been no Rupture between *England* and *Bretagne*. And yet *Charles* took care to get the Duke of *Bretagne* included in the Treaty of Truce concluded at *Tours*; but the *English* made no mention of him. Was it out of Negligence, Forgetfulness, or on set Purpose? The last is most likely. However, the Duke of *Suffolk* had in some measure repaired this Omission, by including the Duke of *Bretagne* as an Ally of *England*, in the prolonging of the Truce in 1447, as appears by the *Collection of Publick Acts*. But that was not enough it seems to satisfy his Enemies.

1450.

Remark on
the last Ar-
ticle.

The Queen perceiving that Matters were like to go ill with the Duke, ordered it so, that the King sent him to the *Tower*. This was done not so much with Design to punish him, as to give some Appearance of Satisfaction to the *Commons*. Mean while, for fear they should obstinately persist in prosecuting him, she got the Parliament adjourned to *Leicester*. Presently after, the Duke came out of the *Tower*, and took his old Post at Court. The News of his Release raised a Sedition in *Kent*, headed by a *Fowler* *. But before the Rebels could attempt any thing considerable, the Ring-leaders were apprehended and executed, and by that Means the Sedition was stifled in its Birth.

The King
sends the
Duke to the
Tower.

The Parli-
ament ad-
journed to
Leicester.
The Duke
is freed.

A Sedition
in Kent.

The

* A desperate Fellow, who stiled himself *Blus-beard*.

1450.
The Parli-
ament sits
again.
The Com-
mons of-
fended at
the Duke of
Suffolk's
appearing.

He is ba-
nished.

He is be-
headed in
his Passage
to France.
April.

The Parliament being met again at *Leicester*, the King and Queen appeared, attended by the Duke of *Suffolk* in quality of *Prime Minister*. The *Commons* were extremely offended at this Procedure, which they considered as done in Contempt of them. To show their Resentment, they went in a Body and petitioned the King, that they who had been instrumental in giving up *Normandy* to the *French*, might be punished according to their Demerits. The Queen was alarmed at this *Petition*. She found that the *Commons* were bent upon the Duke of *Suffolk's* Ruin, and that there was no way to help it but by coming to an open Quarrel with the *Lower-House*. Wherefore, to save the *Minister* some part of the Punishment which in all likelihood was designed him, she resolved to prevent a formal *Sentence*, which could not but have been a very severe one in the present Juncture. A few Days after receiving the *Petition*, the King banished the Duke the Realm for five Years, and turned out all his Creatures. The Duke looking himself upon his Exile as a proper Means to screen him from the Fury of the People, speedily embarked for *France*. But he could not escape his Destiny. He was met in his Passage by an *English* Man of War, commanded by one *Nicholas*, who having a mind to search the Ship the Duke was in, and finding him there, ordered his Head to be chopped off without any further Ceremony *. Thus fell *William de la Pole* Duke of *Suffolk*, who a few Days before saw himself the greatest and most powerful Person in the Kingdom. It is uncertain whether he was guilty of all the Crimes the *Commons* laid to his Charge; But it cannot be denied, that the Disasters which one in the Neck of another happened to the Affairs of the *English* in *France*, are

* *Dugdale*, from *Hollingshead*, says, the Ship (belonging to the Duke of *Exeter*, then Constable of the Tower) was called the *Nicholas of the Tower*, and not the Captain. The Duke's Body was taken up and buried in the Collegiate Church of *Wingfield* in *Suffolk*. He was beheaded, says *Dugdale*, May 2. He served 24 Years in *France*, and 17 without ever returning home. He was Privy-Counsellor 15 Years, and a Knight of the Garter 30. His Dutchess *Alice*, Daughter and Heir of *Chaucer*, died in 14 *Edward* 4. and was buried at *Ewelme*, in the Church of her own founding.

are to be imputed to his ill Conduct, supposing it true that they are not to be considered as the Consequences of a Plot contrived on purpose to make the King lose all his Conquests in *France*.

By the Death of the Duke of *Suffolk*, the Duke of *York* saw himself rid of a potent Enemy, who, being attached to the House of *Lancaster*, would doubtless have strongly opposed the Execution of his Designs. Though *York* was in *Ireland*, yet his Friends effectually served him in *England*, by crying up his Merit, and representing to the People the King's Incapacity, and the Queen's Male-Administration. These Discourses joined to the entire Loss of *Normandy*, which happened at the same Time, made deep Impressions on the Minds of the People, and daily increased the Number of the Duke's Adherents. He had perfect Information of all Matters. But, not to hazard himself to no purpose, he devised an Expedient, which he thought proper to sound the Peoples Inclinations, to the end he might take his Measures with the greater Safety. By his Instigation, an *Irishman*, one *Jach Cade*, took the Name of *John Mortimer* of the *House of March*, who had been executed in the Beginning of this Reign. Under this borrowed Name he repaired into *Kent*, where the Duke of *York* had many Friends, and drew together great Numbers of Male-Contents, using for Pretence the Necessity there was of reforming the Government and easing the People. In the Temper the greatest Part of the Nation was in with regard to the Court, the Rebels increased to such a Degree, that in few Days *Cade* saw himself in Condition to go and incamp on *Black-Heath*, hard by *London*.

The Duke of York aspires to the Crown.

Jack Cade's Insurrection in Kent.

He approaches London.

The King having notice of the Approach of the Rebels, sent to demand the Reason of their appearing thus in Arms. *Cade* answered in the Name of All, that they had no ill Design upon the King's Person: That their Intention was to petition the Parliament to order Matters so, that the evil *Ministers* might be brought to condign Punishment, and the People live more happily than they had done for some Years past. A few Days after they presented to the Parliament two *Petitions*, setting forth the *Grievances* of the Nation,

He presents two Petitions to the Parliament.

1450. Nation. Among other Things they prayed, that the Duke of *Somerset* might be punished, as being the principal Author of the Loss of *Normandy*. That the King's Council might be filled with the Princes of the Blood, and other prudent and judicious Persons, and not with vicious and profligate Men, of ill Principles and Manners, and incapable of managing the Affairs of the State. These Petitions being communicated to the King, the Council condemned them as seditious, and resolved to suppress the Rebellion by Force of Arms. Whereupon, the King having drawn together a Body of Fifteen Thousand Men, headed them himself, and marched against the Rebels. Upon his Approach *Cade*, making as if he was afraid, retreated, and went and lay in Ambush in *Sevenoak-Wood*, not questioning but the King would follow him. But *Henry* imagining the Rebels were dispersed, returned to *London*, being contented with sending after them a Detachment of his Army commanded by the Lord *Stafford* *. This Detachment falling into the Ambush were cut in Pieces, and the Leader himself lost his Life in the Fight.

The King
marches a-
gainst
them.
Cade re-
tires, and
cuts in pie-
ces a De-
tachment of
the King's
Army.

Cade is let
into Lon-
don.

He beheads
the High-
Treasurer.

At the same time *Cade* began his March towards *London*, whilst the King and his whole Court hastily retired to *Kenilworth* Castle, leaving a Garrison in the *Tower* under the Command of the Lord *Scales*. *Cade's* Success against *Stafford* increased his Army with prodigious Multitudes, who ran from all Parts to join him. The City of *London*, either out of fear or from some other Motive, opened her Gates to the Rebels, and *Cade* entered as it were in Triumph, at the Head of his Troops. But he prohibited under severe Penalties the doing any Injury to the Inhabitants. Next Day, being informed that the Lord *Say* High-Treasurer was in the City, he ordered him to be apprehended and beheaded *. Towards the Evening he retired to
Southwark

* This was Sir *Humphrey Stafford* Knight, a collateral Branch of the Family of *Humphrey de Stafford* Duke of *Buckingham*.

* *James Fienes*, who by reason his Mother was Sister and Coheir to *William de Say*, a Descendent of the former Baron *de Say*, was created 25 *Hen. 6.* a Baron by the Title of Lord *Say and Sele*. He was accused

1450.

Southwark, on the other Side of the *Thames*, and continued for some Days, to go into the City in the Morning, and out again at Night, on purpose to take from the Citizens all Occasion of Fear.

Cade's Soldiers and the *Londoners* lived at first very friendly together. But at length, the Soldiers having committed some Riot in the City, when they would have come in as usual, in the Morning they found the Bridge-Gate shut against them. Whereupon a Battle ensued between them and the Citizens, which lasted all Day, and ended at the Approach of Night, by a Suspension of Arms till the Morrow. Mean while the Archbishop of *Canterbury* and the *Chancellor*, who had taken Refuge in the *Tower*, having observed by their Spies, and the Motions of the Rebels, that their Hearts began to fail them, instantly drew up an *Act of Indemnity*, set the *Great Seal* to it, and caus'd it to be proclaimed in the Night in *Southwark*. The *Pardon* produced so sudden and wonderful an Effect, that before it was Day *Cade* found himself deserted by his Followers, and constrained to fly by himself in order to go and conceal himself in the County of *Suffex*. But the King having promised by *Proclamation*, a Thousand Marks to any Person that should bring him dead or alive, he was slain in his lurking Hole by [*Alexander Eden*] a Gentleman of *Kent*, who brought his Body to *London* *. The *Pardon* under the *Great-Seal* did not hinder but that abundance of his Accomplices were put to Death. Thus ended this dangerous Rebellion, which might have been attended with more fatal Consequences, had it been conducted by a more experienced Leader.

Quarrel
between
the Soldiers
and Citi-
zens.

Fight on
the Bridge.

Cade is
deserted.

and slain.

accused with the Duke of *Suffolk* about the Affair of *Maine*, and thereupon to appease the People was turned out from being *High-Treasurer*, and upon the Clamours of the Rebels was sent to the *Tower*, from whence they fetched him and arraigned him at *Guild-Hall* before the *Mayor*: Then hurrying him to the Standard in *Cheap*, they cut off his Head, and dragged his naked Body at a Horse-Tail into *Southwark*, where it was hanged and quartered. *Dugdale*.

* He was stiled Captain *Mend All*.

1450.
Continuation of the
War in
Norman-
dy.
Kiriell
brings a
Supply
from Eng-
land.
He marches to-
wards
Caen.

The Battle
of Four-
migni,
wherein
the Eng-
lish are
worsted.

Charles
compleats
the Con-
quest of
Norman-
dy.

Whilst these Things passed in *England*, the War continued in *Normandy*. But always to the Disadvantage of the *English*. The Queen perceiving that the People's Discontents partly arose from the ill Success of the Affairs of *France*, had attempted to send fifteen Hundred Men to the Duke of *Somerſet*, under the Command of Sir *Thomas Kiriell*, who landed at *Cherburg*. His Design was to lead his Troops to *Caen* where the Duke of *Somerſet* then was. But as it was hazardous to march with so small a Body of Troops, he was join'd upon the Road by several Detachments of the *English* Garrisons in those Parts. The *French* Authors say, that altogether the *English* Army amounted to five Thousand Men, which however is not very likely. Be that as it will, the Constable *Richmond* having had Intelligence of *Kiriell's* Design, speedily drew together a Body of seven Thousand Men, and went and expected him at *Fourmigni*, by which Place he was to pass. The Armies having joined Battle, the *English*, though the Odds were against them, defended themselves a good while with great Bravery. But at length, in spite of their obstinate Resistance, they were put to rout, and their General taken Prisoner. Upon comparing this Battle with a certain Prediction of the *Maid of Orleans*, importing that the *English* should be entirely driven out of the Kingdom, by a Defeat much greater than those of *Orleans* and *Patay*, one is inclined to believe that she was not really inspired. The Truth is, in the Battle of *Fourmigni*, the only one that was fought since the Death of the *Maid*, the *English*, even according to their Enemies computation were at most but five Thousand strong, and their Loss exceeded not fifteen Hundred. But yet in order to make the best of the Prophecy, the *French* Writers talk of the Battle of *Fourmigni* in a very high Strain, comparing it to the most famous Battles.

Kiriell's Reinforcement being defeated, the Duke of *Somerſet* could no longer make Head against the victorious Arms of the *French*. It would be needless to give a particular Account of the Sieges carried on by the *French* in this second Campaign. It will suffice to say in a Word, that

that about the middle of *August*, *Charles* saw himself Master of all *Normandy*. The City of *Caen* was invested the 4th of *June*, and on the 21st of the same Month, the Duke of *Somerſet* capitulated, againſt the Opinion of ſome of the Officers, who maintained that it was not yet Time. *Falaiſe*, *Domfront*, and *Cherburg* were beſieged at once, and the Campaign ended in *Normandy* with the taking of *Cherburg*, which ſurrendered the 12th of *August*. Thus in two Campaigns *Charles* became Maſter of the whole Province, without ſo much as one ſingle Town remaining in the Hands of the *Engliſh*.

1450.
The Duke
of Somer-
ſet ſurren-
ders Caen.

The Parliament met at *Weſtmiſter* on the 16th of *November*, and about the ſame Time the Duke of *Somerſet* having nothing more to do in *France*, came to *England*. He was blamed for the Loſs of *Normandy*, and particularly of *Caen*, where he was accused of not having done his Duty. Theſe Complaints were ſo publickly made, that the *House of Commons* could not help taking notice of them. They preſented a *Petition* to the King accordingly, praying him to ſend the Duke of *Somerſet* to the *Tower*, that his Conduct might be inquired into. *Henry* not thinking proper to diſoblige the *Commons* at ſuch a Juncture, granted their Requeſt. The Populace of *London* were ſo tranſported with Joy upon News of the Duke being in the *Tower*, that they went out of Hand and plundered his Palace. They would have proceeded further, if the King had not ſpeedily iſſued out a *Proclamation* to diſperſe them. This hindered not ſome of the moſt Audacious from continuing the Tumult, till ſuch Time as one of the moſt inſolent had his Head ſtruck off. The Parliament was no ſooner broke up, but the Duke of *Somerſet* came out of his Confinement, and took at Court the Poſt the Duke of *Suffolk* had enjoy'd.

The Par-
liament
meets.
The Duke
of Somer-
ſet arrives
in Eng-
land.
He is ſent
to the Tow-
er.

His Palace
is plunder-
ed.

He comes
out of the
Tower, and
is Prime
Minifter.

Charles
takes ſeveral
Places
in Gui-
enne.

The *Engliſh*, not having been able to prevent the Loſs of *Normandy*, had it ſtill leſs in their Power to defend *Guienne* which was further off. King *Charles* taking Advantage of the preſent Juncture, had already ſent his Troops into that Province, where this very Year his Generals took *Bergerac*, *Gemſac*, *Montferrand*, *Chala's*, *St. Foi*, which

1450. made but a very faint Resistance. The Season, which was very far advanced, hindered them from carrying on their Conquests.

The Earl of Orval hears the Train'd-Bands of Bourdeaux.

During the Winter, the Earl of *Orval* of the *House of Albret*, making Inroads up to the very Gates of *Bourdeaux*, the Mayor of the City sallied out with ten Thousand Men to attack him. How inferior soever *Orval* might be in Numbers, he stood his Ground against these undisciplined Trained-Bands, slew great Part of them, and took abundance of Prisoners.

1451.
Great Progrejs of the French in Guienne.

In the Month of *April* 1451, the Army of *France* commanded by the Bastard of *Orleans* Earl of *Dunois* and *Longueville* were forty Thousand strong. This General presently became Master of *Montguion*, in *Saintonge*. Then on *May* the 10th, he besieged *Blaye*, and carried it on the 21st. The *English* not only had no Army in the Field, but did not seem so much as to have any Thoughts of defending *Guienne*. The *French* General improving so favourable a Juncture, divided his Army into four Bodies, the most considerable of which he commanded himself. He gave the Command of the other three to the Earls of *Foix*, *Pontievre*, and *Armagnac*. All these Generals made several Conquests apart without much Trouble. *Libourn*, *Castillon*, *Dacs*, *Rioure*, *Bourg*, surrendered in a little Time. *Fronsac*, the strongest Place of the Province, held out but three Days; however the Castle made a brave Defense.

Bourdeaux and the rest of Guienne treat with Charles.

The Inhabitants of *Guienne* seeing themselves thus deserted by the King of *England*, thought it Time to provide for their Safety. The *States* of the Province being assembled at *Bourdeaux* in the Month of *June*, resolved voluntarily to submit to King *Charles*, in order to avoid the utter Ruin which hung over their Heads. Pursuant to this Resolution, they concluded with the Earl of *Dunois* a Treaty, whereby they obliged themselves to submit to the Dominion of the King of *France*, in Case before the 24th of the same Month, they were not relieved by an Army able to give Battle. The *French* General could grant that Condition without any Apprehension, since he was well assured they were in no readiness in *England* to assist *Guienne*. The

Guienne surrenders to Charles except Bayonne.

Army

Army not appearing, all the Towns of the Dutchy opened their Gates to the *French*, except *Bayonne*, which refused to be included in the Treaty. This Place, the only one the *English* had left, was invested the sixth of *August*. The Breach being large enough on the 19th of the same Month, the Besiegers prepared to Storm; but the Inhabitants saved them the Labour by rising in Arms and obliging the Garrison to capitulate. The *French* Historians say, that a *white Cross* was seen in the Air just over the Town, an evident Sign of the Protection God afforded *France*.

1451.
which is
forced to
capitulate.

Whilst the Court of *England* suffered *Guienne* to be lost without minding it, they grew extremely uneasy with regard to the Duke of *York*. As in the *Kentish* Rebellion, *Jack Cade* had taken the Name of *Mortimer*, it was easy to perceive that his Aim had been to see how the People stood affected to the *House of March*. Consequently it might be inferred from thence, that he had been set to work by the Duke of *York* sole Heir of that Family. Indeed the Thing was palpable, but there was no Evidence to convict the Duke, because *Cade* was slain. Besides, in the

The Court's
uneasiness
with re-
gard to the
Duke of
York.

Temper People were in with regard to the Court, they would infallibly have taken the Duke of *York*'s Part, in Case he had been, by being publickly attacked, forced to stand upon his Defense. Mean while, as he was suspected of hatching some Plot in *Ireland*, and of designing to bring an Army of *Irish* into *England*, the King sent Orders to the Sheriffs of *Wales*, *Shropshire*, and *Cheshire*, to be in a readiness to hinder his Landing. This Precaution produced several ill Effects. In the first Place, it let the People see that the Court was afraid of the Duke of *York*, which it would have been better to conceal, for fear of giving them Occasion to inquire into the Reason. In the next Place, the Duke found that it was his Business to be upon his Guard: Whereas, if the Court had feigned to know nothing of his Designs, they might have caused him to fall into some Snare, or given him Room to make some false Step, which would have afforded a Handle against him. In fine, they furnished him with a Pretence to complain, since he was so far from being convicted of having form'd any Project

The King
orders his
Landing to
be opposed.

Il Effects of
this Accu-
sation.

Project

1451.

*The Duke
complains
to the King.
His Answer.*

Project against the King, that he had not probably done any Thing on which an Accusation could be grounded. Wherefore he wrote to the King, complaining of this Suspicion, which he pretended to look upon as extremely injurious, and as a mere Pretence to ruin him. The King sent him a very civil Answer, giving him some sort of Satisfaction; however he revoked not his Orders.

*The Duke
persists in
his Designs
in spite of
all Difficulties.*

Though *Cade's* Attempt had miscarried, the Duke of York reaped the Benefit he intended in it. The vast Numbers of People that had embarked in it plainly discovered how much the Nation was displeased with the Queen and Ministry, and that the Remembrance of the Rights of the *House of March* was not entirely lost. Wherefore, instead of being discouraged, he entertained fresh Hopes. He judged that if the mere Shadow of one of his Family was capable of causing so great Multitudes to take up Arms, much more would they be attached to a Prince of the Blood-Royal, sole Heir of the *House of March*. Mean while, not to be too hasty in the Execution of a Project of such Moment, he resolved before he attempted any Thing, to consult his Friends. The Time of his Government of *Ireland* being expired, he embarked for *England*. But when he would have landed in *Wales*, he found at the Port the *Militia* up in Arms ready to oppose him. This prevented him not from going and landing at another Place, which was not so strongly guarded. He did this the more boldly, as he had none but his own Servants with him, and as they had yet no handle against Him. Then he repaired to *London*, from whence the Court was gone some Time before in Progress to the *Western* Counties.

*He returns
to England.*

*He concert's
Measures
with his
Friends.*

The Duke of York was impatiently expected at *London*. His Friends had frequently conferred together in his Absence, but had not been able to come to any Resolution without him. His principal Adherents were *John Mowbray* Duke of *Norfolk*, *Richard Nevil* Earl of *Salisbury*, Son-in-law to the General of the same Name * who was slain

* Son-in law of *Thomas de Montacute* Earl of *Salisbury*, in right of

1451.

lain before *Orleans*, *Richard Nevil* his Son who was shortly after *Earl of Warwick*, by his Marriage with *Anne Beauchamp* Daughter of the *Earl of Warwick* who died in *France*, *Thomas Courtney* *Earl of Devonshire*, though Son-in-law of the *Duke of Somerset**, and *Edward Brook* *Baron of Cobham*. With these Lords the Duke immediately after his Arrival concerted the Measures he had to take, in order to accomplish his Designs. The Result of their Consultations was, that the Duke should retire into *Wales*, where the *March-Family* had always had great Interest; that he should privately make sure of being able to raise an Army in Season, by the Help of his Friends; That he should then write to the King, warning him of the People's Disaffection to the *Ministry*, and particularly to the *Duke of Somerset*.

He retires into Wales, and writes to the King to reform the Government.

In Pursuance to this Resolution, the Duke having repaired into *Wales* and taken all his Measures, sent the King Word that all the Kingdom was dissatisfied that Traitors were screened from Justice, and took the Freedom to advise him to prevent the ill Consequences that this Discontent might be attended with: That the speediest Means would be to order that the Guilty might be brought to their Tryal, and particularly the *Duke of Somerset*, who having been impeached by the *House of Commons*, had been restored to Favour without having his Conduct examined into. In fine, that if he would be pleased to give the Nation this Satisfaction, he offered to assist in the Execution of so good a Design. The *Ministry* easily perceived that the *Duke of York* sought an Occasion to quarrel. But as in the present Posture of Affairs they durst not carry it with a high Hand, it was judged proper that the King should send the Duke a civil Answer, which would disappoint him of the Pretence he wanted. Accordingly the King in

The King sends him a mild Answer.

of whose sole Daughter and Heir, he had the Title of *Earl of Salisbury*. He was eldest Son by a second Wife to *Ralph Nevil* *Earl of Westmoreland*.

* He was Son-in-law to *John* *Earl of Somerset* (eldest Son of *John* *Duke of Lancaster*, by *Catharine Swinford*) and Brother-in-law to *Edmund* *Duke of Somerset*, third Son of the said *John*.

1451.

his Letter to him told him, that he had resolved some Time since to reform whatever might be amiss in the Government; that therefore his Intent was to appoint a certain Number of Persons of Virtue and Parts for his Counsellors, of whom he intended him for one: That as to the Traitors mentioned in his Letter, his Design was not to let them go unpunished, but as the Affair was of very great Consequence, it required mature Deliberation: That as to the Duke of Somerset in particular, he meant not to screen him from answering to the Accusations that should be laid to his Charge,

1452.

*The Duke
marches to
London
with an
Army.*

Though this Answer took from the Duke of York all Pretence of taking up Arms, he imagined however that the King's bare Refusal to remove or punish the *Ministers* he complained of, was a sufficient Warrant so to do. He did not expect so mild an Answer. Mean while, as he had already taken his Measures to raise an Army, he did not think proper to break them, or suffer himself to be decoyed by a Moderation which might be as well feigned as real. And therefore having put himself at the Head of his Army, he marched towards *London*. But he found the Queen had not been so neglectful as he had expected. Upon Notice of the Duke's retiring into *Wales*, she had ordered Troops to be levied in the King's Name, without making known what they were intended for. So that the Duke was no sooner upon his March, but he heard that the King was advancing towards him in order to give him Battle. Though he wanted neither Courage nor Experience, he thought it not best to venture to join Battle with the King, without having a more plausible Pretence than what he would have covered his Designs with. His Aim was to win the People to his Side; but to fight the King without a more specious Reason, was not the Way to Compass his Ends, though he could have been sure of carrying the Day. Besides, looking upon the City of *London* as being able to make the Balance incline to his Side, he judged that before all Things he should try to make sure of the Metropolis.

*The King
goes out to
meet him.*

*London-
Gates shut
against the
Duke.*

For this Reason, as soon as he had received News that the King was coming against him, he altered on a sudden his

Row

Rout, and by speedy Marches got before him, and went and appeared before *London*, where he expected to be received with open Arms; but he had the Mortification to find the Gates shut, the Inhabitants not thinking proper to declare for him, whilst the King was so close at his Heels with a stronger Army than his. He was fain therefore to go and pass the *Thames* at *Kingston*, in order to encamp at *Burnt-Heath*, twelve Miles from *London*. The King following him, passed the River over *London-Bridge*, and encamped about four Miles from him.

The two Armies being so near one another, that nothing could hinder them from engaging, the King sent to the Duke two Bishops, to know what had induced him to appear in Arms. As the Duke saw himself disappointed of gaining *London* to his Side, he thought it his wisest Course to carry it fair with the Court, for fear of ruining his Affairs by too hasty Resolutions. In this Opinion he answered, that he had never intended to forsake his Allegiance to the King, but only to remove from his Person evil Counsellors, of whom the Duke of *Somerset* was the principal: That if the King would be pleased to order *Somerset* again to Prison, and keep him there as long as the Parliament had decreed, he was ready to dismiss his Troops. He did not expect that his Demand would be granted, since the King and Queen were solely guided by the Counsels of him whose Interest it was to have it rejected. He was in hopes by that to throw all the Blame on the Court, and let the People see that the *Ministry* did not scruple to expose the Kingdom to a Civil War, for the sake of a Man odious to the Nation. But for once he was out-witted by his own Policy. The King took him at his Word, promised to send his Enemy to the *Tower*, and ordered him to be apprehended forthwith. The Duke of *York* was surprized at this Condescension. He would very willingly have gone back from his Engagement. But as he could not do it without laying himself too open, he thought best to run some Risk, rather than hazard the Loss of the People's Good-Will, on which he grounded all his Expectations. Wherefore without any delay, he disbanded his Troops and came to Court,

The King sends to know why the Duke had taken up Arms.

The Duke offers to submit if Somerset is sent back to the Tower.

He is taken at his Word.

He dismisses his Troops, and comes and accuses the Duke of Somerset.

1452.
who sud-
denly ap-
pears and
accuses
him.

The Duke
of York is
appre-
hended.

Reasons
which hin-
dered the
Court
from put-
ting him
to death.

He is set at
Liberty.

not deigning so much as to take any Precaution for his Safety. When he was come into the King's Presence, he accused the Duke of *Somerſet* with great Warmth, and endeavoured to perſwade the King that he was a Traitor, and one that had ſacrificed the Intereſt of the Kingdom to his Ambition and Avarice. Upon theſe Words, the Duke of *Somerſet*, who was hid behind the Hangings, ſuddenly ſtept forth to anſwer him, and accused him of having conſpired to dethrone the King. The Duke of *York* ſeeing his Enemy whom he thought in Confinement ſtanding before him, and in the King's Apartment, found he had been amuſed, and perceived the Danger he was in. Nevertheless, without ſhewing any Concern, he modeſtly complained that they had broke their Word with him, by the Suggestions of the Duke of *Somerſet*, on whom he caſt the Baſeneſs of this Fraud. Immediately after the King diſmiſſed the Duke of *York*, and ordered him to be apprehended as ſoon as he was gone out of his Preſence.

If the Duke of *York*'s Enemies had dared to gratify their Reſentment, he would never have got out of the Snare he had imprudently fallen into. But the Poſture of Affairs and the Temper of the People, affording juſt Occaſion of Fear, they durſt not proceed againſt him. Two other Reaſons helped likewise to ſave him. It was rumoured at Court, that the young Earl of *March* his Son, attended by all the Friends of his Family, was advancing with a ſtrong Body of Troops to free his Father. Wherefore for fear the Duke's Army which was lately diſbanded, ſhould join his Son's Troops, the Court was obliged to take a more gentle Courſe. On the other Hand, the *Gascons* had ſent Deputies to the King, to offer to reduce *Guienne* to his Obedience, if he would ſend them Supplies. At ſuch a Juncture it was believed, that as the Duke of *York*'s Blood could not be ſpilt without occaſioning a Civil War, there would be a Neceſſity of detaining the Troops intended for *Guienne*, and thereby a fair Opportunity loſt of recovering that Province. Theſe Conſiderations induced the Queen and Duke of *Somerſet* to give the Duke of *York* his Liberty, though their own Intereſts, that of the King and the whole

whole *House of Lancaster* required that he should be sacrificed to their Safety. Perhaps all the Calamities which *England* indured afterwards, might by that Means have been prevented. Nevertheless, as the Queen and *Ministry* were willing, as far as in them lay, to guard themselves against his Designs, they obliged him to take an Oath to the King, whereby he swore to remain his faithful Subject till Death, and never to take up Arms against him. This done, the Duke of *York* retired to his Castle at *Wigmore*, and the Duke of *Somerſet* enjoyed without a Rival the Authority he had acquired at Court.

He takes
an Oath to
the King,

and retires
to Wig-
more.

Whilst *Henry* was employed at Home in opposing the Attempts of the Duke of *York*, *Charles* had no less an Enemy to encounter in his own Kingdom. The *Dauphin* his Son, a Prince of a restless Spirit, gave him great Uneasiness by his Behaviour towards him. For some time past he had resided in *Dauphiné*, where he acted as Sovereign, paying but a slight Regard to the King his Father's Orders, and executing them no farther than he thought fit. He had even the Rashness to demand of the Duke of *Savoy* his Daughter *Violante* in Marriage; and the Duke had complied with his Request, without either of them vouchsafing to acquaint the King with the Matter. Provoked at this Proceeding, *Charles* put himself at the Head of Thirty Thousand Men, and marched towards *Lyons*, bent upon chastising his Son, and punishing the Boldness of the Duke of *Savoy*. But the Revolution which happed in *Guienne* at the same time put him upon taking other Measures.

Quarrel
between
K. Charles
and the
Dauphin.

The *Gascons*, who had been for three hundred Years together under the Dominion of the Kings of *England*, had not submitted to King *Charles*, but purely because the *English* had neglected to succour them. As soon as the *French* Army had quitted *Guienne*, the Lords of the Country, in Concert with the Inhabitants of *Bordeaux*, resolved to return to their antient Sovereigns. To that Purpose they deputed the Lords of *Candale* and *l'Esparre* to go and contrive the Means at *London*. The Troubles raised by the Duke of *York* had for some time hindered the Court from being able to attend that Affair. But upon their being appeased,

The Gas-
cons offer
to return
to the King
of Eng-
land.

This Offer
is accepted.

1452.

Talbot
sent into
Guienne.He is let
into Bour-
deaux.He retakes
several
Places in
Guienne.

1453.

Charles
sent 10000
Men into
Guienne.

peased, the Queen and *Council* maturely weighing the Matter, judged that nothing should be omitted in order to bring it about. Their succeeding in this Undertaking might redeem their Credit, and gain them an Interest among the People, which they stood in need of to bear themselves up against their Enemies. *Talbot*, the valiant Earl of *Shrewsbury*, who was returned from a Journey he had made to *Italy*, was pitched upon for this Expedition. Though he was fourscore Years old, he accepted without Hesitation an Employment which afforded him Opportunity to do his King and Country a signal Service once more before he died. As there was an absolute Necessity of being speedy, he forthwith embarked the Troops that were ready, consisting of Seven Hundred Men at Arms, upon Promise that the rest which were designed him should quickly follow. He set Sail the 18th of *October*, and on the 21st landed near *Bordeaux*. Next Day he appeared before the City; and as all was prepared beforehand to receive him, he was let in at a Gate which the Citizens had the Guard of. The *French* Garrison, who had heard nothing of his Arrival, surprized at this unexpected Accident, would have gone out at another Gate, but they were almost all of them stopped.

The Reinforcement promised from *England* being arrived a few Days after, the Earl of *Shrewsbury* took the Field at the Head of Seven Thousand Men. With this little Army he conquered again some of the Towns of *Guienne*, among others *Fronsac* and *Castillon*, in as short a Space as they were lost. If Winter had not prevented him from pushing his Conquests farther, he would have made himself Master of all *Guienne*.

Charles, who was then at *Lyons*, having heard this ill News, thought it not best obstinately to prosecute the Execution of the Design he had formed. The Affair of *Guienne* seemed to him of greater Importance. Wherefore altering on a sudden his Resolution, he permitted the *Dauphin* to marry the Princess of *Savoy*, and gave one of his Daughters to the young Prince of *Piedmont*. At the same time, he resolved to send all his Troops into *Guienne* the next Spring. Mean while, he dispatched before a Body of

Ten

Ten Thousand Men, under the Command of *Chabane*, and the Earl of *Pontievre*. These two Generals being arrived in *Saintonge*, besieged *Chalain* and *Castillon*, whilst the Earl of *Clermont* followed them with the rest of the Army designed for *Guienne*. *Chabanes* was taken up with the Siege of *Chalain* till the Month of *June*, after which he went and joined *Pontievre* before *Castillon*, which still made a vigorous Defence. The Dread which the Valour and Experience of the Earl of *Shrewsbury* inspired them with, made them use the Precaution seldom practised in those Days, of making *Lines*, and defending the Avenues of their Camp with *Palisadoes*.

1453.
Castillon
besieged.

The Earl of *Shrewsbury* was at *Bourdeaux* with Six or Seven Thousand Men, in suspense what Course he should take with regard to the Siege. He was very desirous to relieve the Place, but was afraid he should find it extremely difficult, as well by reason of the Intrenchments of the *French*, as of the Superiority of their Numbers. On the other Hand, being sensible that the Earl of *Clermont* was advancing with all speed, he considered that there was a Necessity of running this Hazard before the other Troops arrived, after which it would be too late, since he would have all the Forces of *France* to deal with. In fine, having taken this last Resolution, he set out from *Bourdeaux* with all his Army, and approaching the *French* Camp, attacked them immediately with a Vigour equal to that which the *English* had shown at the Battle of *Azincourt*, and upon several other Occasions. He soon defeated Four Thousand Men commanded by *Chabanes* without the Intrenchments, drove them back to the Camp, and in spite of the Besiegers Cannon, which carried off his Men by whole Files, forc'd their *Lines*, and rushed in Pell-mell with the Runaways. Thus the *English* relate the Matter. But the *French* only say, that the *Lines* were just upon the Point of being forced, when the *English* were attacked in the Rear by a Body of *French* Horse. This abated their Eagerness, and obliged their General to leave off attacking the *Lines*, in order to face those that pressed him behind. This Motion gave the *French* an opportunity to cause all their Troops to come out of the Camp.

Talbot goes
and attacks
them.

1453.

*He is de-
feated and
slain.*

Camp. So that the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, who had not above Five Thousand Men left, saw himself reduced to the Necessity of making two Fronts, and withstanding Ten Thousand Men. At length, the *English* finding themselves overpowered by Numbers began to give Ground. At the same time, the Earl of *Shrewsbury* was wounded in the Thigh with a Musquet-Ball, and had his Horse killed under him. In this Condition, not being able to mount on Horseback by reason of his Wound, he bid Sir *John Talbot* * his Son retire and save himself for another Occasion, wherein he might be further serviceable to his Country. But *Talbot* rather than basely fly, chose to die by the Earl his Father, who presently after resigned his last Breath also. The *English* lost Two Thousand Men, but that of their General was much the greater Loss *.

*The End of
the War in
France,
with the
Loss of
Guienne.*

After this Defeat, *Castillon* surrendered on the 16th of *July*. A few Days after the Earl of *Clermont* being arrived, and the King having repaired to the Camp, the Army was divided into four Bodies, which besieged at once *Cadillac*, *Libourne*, *Fronsac*, and *Bordeaux*. *Fronsac* and *Libourne* held out but a few Days; but the Castle of *Cadillac* stood out a Siege of two Months. After the taking of that Place, the whole Army joined before *Bordeaux*, which capitulated the 17th of *October*, and the Garrison had liberty to return to *England*. Thus of so many Conquests the *English* had made in *France* since *Edward III*, they had nothing left but *Calais* and *Guisnes*, poor Remains of so many Provinces, several whereof had belonged to their Kings by *Hereditary Right*, and others had been won by so many Victories, and at the Expence of so much Blood!

Whilst

* He was eldest Son by *Margaret* the Earl's second Wife, Daughter of *Richard Beauchamp*, Earl of *Warwick*, and created Viscount *Lisle* by *Hen 6*. The Earl's eldest Son by *Maud* his first Wife was also called *John*, who succeeded him in his Honours.

* He was buried at *Whitchurch* in *Shropshire*, where a noble Monument is erected for him in the South-wall of the *Chancel*. In his *Epitaph* he is stiled, Earl of *Shrewsbury*, Lord *Talbot*, Lord *Furnival*, Lord *Verdon*, Lord *Strange* of *Blakmore*, and *Marshal of France*. Dug.

Whilst the *French* were carrying on the War with such Success in *Guienne*, *Henry* was seized at *London* with a dangerous Fit of Sickness which held him a good while, and made it often believed he would never recover. At the same time the Queen was brought to Bed on the 23^d of October of a Prince who was christned *Edward*. This Prince was born in an ill Hour, since it was just as the *English* lost all their Possessions in *France*. His Birth gave rise to several Reports which were not at all to the Queen's Honour. There was some bold enough to say publickly, he was not the King's Son. Others maintained, that he was supposititious, grounding their Assertion upon the Queen's not having any Children before, tho' she had been married Nine Years. In fine, some there were, who, without calling in question the Honour or Honesty of the Queen, took Occasion from the Prince's Birth to hope better things for the future. Their Reason was, because the Queen having a Son, would be more firmly attached to the Interest of *England*, giving to understand plainly enough by that, what they thought of her former Conduct.

1453.
Henry
falls sick.

Birth of
Edward
the King's
Son.

Reports to
the Queen's
Disadvantage.

Cardinal *Kemp*, who had been translated from the See of *York* to that of *Canterbury*, dying in *December* this Year, *Thomas Bourchier*, Brother of the Earl of *Essex* *, was elected Archbishop. He was a Prelate of eminent Merit, and was made afterwards *High Chancellor*, and then honoured with the Dignity of *Cardinal*.

Thomas
Bourchier
Archbishop
of Canter-
bury.

The War in *France*, which had lasted Thirty-eight Years, being over, the remaining Events of this Reign consist only of the Quarrels between the Houses of *Lancaster* and *York*: The first of which had for Devise a Red, and the other a *White Rose*. These *Devises* are famous for the vast Torrents of *English* Blood spilt upon their Account. The Troubles raised by the Duke of *York* seemed to be entirely suppressed since his Reconciliation with the King: but they soon broke out afresh with so much the greater Fury, as the *English* were no longer taken up with a Foreign War.

The Civil
War is re-
newed in
England

I am

* *Henry Bourchier* Son of *William*, by *Anne* Daughter of *Thomas of Woodstock* (sixth of *Edward III*) was not created Earl of *Essex* till June 30th, 1 Ed. 4. He was made *Viscount* in 25 Hen. 6. *Dug.*

1453.

I am going to give as brief an Account as possible of the Occurrences which happened on the Score of the Duke of *York's* Claim, and which ended at length in the Ruin of the King and the whole *House of Lancaster*.

*The Rights
of the
Houses of
York and
Lancaster.*

The Duke of *York* had renewed his Oath to the King : but he had done it only to get out of the Danger which he had plunged himself into by his Imprudence. He was no less bent upon asserting his Title, and taking the Advantage of the King's Incapacity, and the Peoples Disaffection for the Queen and her *Ministers*. To consider only the Laws and Customs of the Realm, his Title was indisputable. He was descended from the Second * Son of *Edward III.* whereas *Henry* was sprung only from the Third *¹ Son of the same Prince. It is true indeed, it was by the Female-Line. But there was no such Thing in *England* as the *Salick-Law*, which should exclude him upon that Account. On the contrary, in the Reign of *Richard II.* *Roger* Earl of *March*, his Grandfather by the Mother's Side, was declared by the Parliament Presumptive-Heir of the Crown, in case *Richard* died without Issue. And ever since the House of *Lancaster* was in Possession of the Throne, the Parliament had confirmed by a solemn *Act* the Right of the Females and their Descendents, as we have seen in the Reign of *Henry IV.* And yet *Henry VI.* was no Usurper. It was now above fifty Years since the *House of Lancaster* had held the Crown by the Authority of the Parliament, who settled it upon the Family of *Henry IV.* So that the Duke of *York* could not pretend to the Crown, but on Supposition that the Parliament had not Power to alter the Succession. For this Reason he could not openly discover his Intention, without striking directly at the Privileges of the Parliament, which the *English* Nation has all along been watchful of. Besides, he stood in need of the Parliament to bring about his Designs. But how could he gain the Parliament to his Side, if he offered to question the *Validity* of their *Acts*? On the other Hand, there was a necessity of doing no less than

*Difficulties
of the Duke
of York's
Attempt.*

* *Lionel* Duke of *Clarence* Third Son.

* *John* Duke of *Lancaster* Fourth Son.

than destroying a Fifty-Years Possession, confirmed by the unanimous Consent of the People, and become still more authentick by the glorious Advantages which the late King Henry V had procured for the Nation. 1453.

These Obstacles were sufficient to divert the Duke of York from his Enterprize, if on the other Side the present Circumstances had not given him Encouragement to pursue it. Henry was a Prince unable of himself to oppose the Attempts which the Duke could make against him. He was not hated by the People; but then he was but little esteemed. He was looked upon only as the Shadow of a King, who did little else but lend his Name to the Queen and Ministers. Nevertheless the sole Name of King would have been enough to keep the People in Subjection to those that were at the Helm, had they not made an ill use of their Power, as is too commonly done by them who are in the like Station. But the Authority usurped by the Queen and the Duke of Somerset, was not the only Cause of the Discontent of the English. When they considered that all the Conquests of Henry V, and Guienne it self, which had been for three Hundred Years under the Dominion of England, were lost in a few Years, they could not forbear casting the Blame upon those that governed in the King's Name. Normandy had been taken from England in two Campaigns only, in the Regency of the Duke of Somerset, whilst he was actually on the Spot to defend it. He was accused likewise of having been too hasty in surrendering Caen. On the other Hand, it was considered that during the Regency of the Duke of Gloucester the Affairs of France were kept upon a pretty good Foot, and that nevertheless the Queen to gratify her Passion had dispatched that Prince out of the Way in a base and violent Manner, and thereby had been the Occasion of all the Losses which had happened since. So that People looked upon the King as a Prince incapable of retrieving the Honour of the Nation, and restoring the Affairs of the Kingdom to a flourishing State; upon the Queen as a Person too well affected to France, and as having no other Aim but to engross the whole Authority in England, and upon the Duke of So-

1453.

merſet as a greedy *Minifter*, who ſought only to enrich himſelf at the Expence of the Publick. They loudly complained alſo, that in order to preſerve his Authority, the Duke filled the higheſt Poſts with his Creatures, without any Regard to their Merits and Parts. This laſt Article made a deep Impreſſion in the Minds of the People. They could not behold without Indignation, the *Council-Board* filled with ill Men, and all the Places of the Kingdom held by Perſons of no Principles. This gave room to ſuſpect that the Queen's and *Ministry's* Aim was to hinder that Religion, Honour, Virtue, Love of one's Country, ſhould move thoſe that were in the Publick Poſts to make a ſtand againſt the Abuſes and Diſorders which had as it were overflowed the Kingdom. This Temper of the People gave the Duke of *York* ſuch great Advantages, that he thought he ſhould lay hold of them, not by acting directly for himſelf, but under Colour of procuring the Good of the People, by obliging the King to make uſe of other *Minifters*. He knew very well that if he could once turn his Enemies out of the *Council*, and get in his Creatures, it would be no hard Matter to carry on farther the Execution of his Deſigns.

*The Earl of
Salisbury
and War-
wick chief
Friends of
the Duke
of York.*

An Undertaking of this Nature could not be brought about without the Aſſiſtance of ſome Friends, and therefore he engaged ſeveral Lords in his Plot, ſome under Colour of driving from Court the Duke of *Somerſet*, who was generally hated and envied, others by diſcovering to them the moſt ſecret Purpoſes. Among theſe laſt, the two *Nevil's*, Father and Son, were the Principal. The Father, who bore the Title of *Earl of Salisbury*, was eminent for his Virtues and conſummate Prudence. The Earl of *Warwick* his Son was univerſally eſteemed for his Valour, and adored by the People for his obliging Carriage. He knew how to behave in ſuch a Manner that he ſeemed to have ſolely in View the Welfare and Glory of the Nation *. Hitherto he had ſtudied to keep between the two Parties a neutrality, which by gaining him the Good-Will of the People,

* This is he that was commonly called, *The Stout Earl of Warwick*.

1453.

ple, had taken from the *Ministers* not only all Pretence of ruining him, but even all Occasion of suspecting him. These two Lords with some others, having consulted with the Duke of *York* about the Means to accomplish his Project, agreed that it was not yet a proper Season to discover his Intention; that on the contrary, he should carry himself very submissively with the King, in order to efface the ill Impressions his former Behaviour might have made in the People. The Frankness wherewith he had disbanded his Troops, and his new Oath to the King were exceeding proper to remove all Suspicion of his having any ill Design.

*The Duke
of York
consults
with his
Friends.*

The Parliament had been summoned to *Reading*. But by Reason the King had relapsed, it was adjourned to *Westminster* till *February* the 14th. In the Interim, some of the Duke of *York*'s private Friends, who pretended to be of the Court Party, intimated to the Queen and Duke of *Somerset*, that in the present Temper of the People, it was to be feared the Parliament would come to *Resolves* disagreeable to them: That whilst the King was in good Health, they could act in his Name, because it was supposed that all *Orders* issued from him; but that the Case was not the same during his Sickness: That their Authority being wholly grounded upon the King's Will and Pleasure, there was Reason to fear that the Royal Will no longer appearing, the Parliament would nominate other Governours: That therefore it was proper to take into the *Council* the Duke of *York*, the two *Nevils*, and some other of the most popular Lords, that it might appear, that those who were at the *Helm* did not seek to engross all the Power. This Advice was built upon such plausible Reasons, that the Queen and Favourite could not help falling into the Snare laid for them. Wherefore the Duke of *York*, the two *Nevils*, and some others of their Cabal were called to the *Council* before the Parliament met. They were no sooner admitted, but they carried all before them; insomuch that they who ruled every Thing before, had no longer any Credit.

*Advice
given the
Queen and
Duke of
Somerset
for their
Ruin.*

1453.
The Duke
of Somers-
et sent
to the
Tower.

1454.
The Duke
of York
is made
Protector,

The first notable Step of these Counsellors was to apprehend the Duke of *Somerset* in the Queen's own Room, and send him to the *Tower*. Mean while the Parliament was farther prorogued to the 15th of *March*, that the Duke of *York* and his Friends might have Time to concert Measures with the *Members*. Two Days before the Parliament sat, the *Council* empowered the Duke of *York* to hold it in the King's Name. In the Beginning of the *Session* the *Commons* sent to the *House* of Lords an Impeachment against the Duke of *Somerset*, for having suffered *Normandy* to be lost during his Regency, and by his Fault. *April* the 2d, the *Great Seal* was given to the Earl of *Salisbury*. Next Day the Parliament appointed the Duke of *York* Protector of the Realm, Defender of the Church, and first Counsellor of the King, with this Restriction, till the young Prince Edward the King's Son should be of Age to exercise that High Office. Hence it appears, first, that it was believed the King's Indisposition would last as long as he liv'd, and that it affected his Understanding more than his Body. In the next Place, by reserving this Post for a Child of six Months old, who was to fill it when he came to Age, the Parliament showed that their Intent was to preserve entire the Rights of the *House of Lancaster*, though they declared the Duke of *York* Protector. Generally upon these Occasions, there is too much or too little done, which gives rise to *Civil Wars*. If the Parliament had openly declared against the *House of Lancaster*, it is very likely that at such a Juncture, the *Lancastrians* would have found but few Friends. On the other Hand, if instead of placing the Duke of *York* so near the Throne, Care had been taken to check his Ambition, which was but too manifest, doubtless he would have lost many of his Adherents, and perhaps the *Civil War* which laid the Kingdom waste, would have been avoided. But it is a very hard Matter for a Parliament at such Junctures to be able to act with Freedom, and to follow the Rules of Reason and Equity.

and Gover-
nour of
Calais.

The Duke of *York* having all the Power in his own Hands, removed the Duke of *Somerset*, who was still in the *Tower*, from the Government of *Calais*, and by the King's

Letters

Letters Patent placed himself in his Room. Every one imagined that the Impeachment against the imprisoned Duke would be carried on vigorously. But the Business was suffered to lye dormant all the rest of the Year, without any one's seeming to mind it. Probably the Evidences they had against him appeared insufficient.

1454.

In the Beginning of the Year 1455, the King finding himself somewhat recovered of his long Illness, the Authority conferred on the Duke of *York* ceased of course, since it was grounded purely on the King's Inability by reason of his Indisposition to govern the Realm himself. The Duke of *York*'s Matters were not ripe enough to enable him to dispute with the King the Right of resuming his Authority, though it was in effect but to put it again in the Hands of the Queen. The first Effect of this Change, was the Enlargement of the Duke of *Somerſet*. On the 5th of *February* the Duke of *Buckingham*, the Earl of *Wiltſhire**, and two Knights, having offered to be bound for him, their Offer was accepted, and the King ordered the Governour of the *Tower* to release the Prisoner. A Month after, these Lords were discharged from their *Bail*, without any Tryal intervening. As the Duke had been apprehended by Order of *Council*, it was supposed he could be released by the same Authority. But there was a great deal to be said against this Supposition. The Impeachment of the *House of Commons* intervening since, it could not be maintained that the King had Power to set him at Liberty before he was legally acquitted. However, the Court had no Regard to that Argument. Since the King had resumed the Government, the Duke of *York* and his Party had no longer any Credit in the *Council* where the Queen and the Duke of *Somerſet* bore an absolute Sway. So prevalent was the King's bare Name in giving a new Turn to Affairs.

1455.
The King
resumes
his Authority.

The Duke
of *Somerſet*
is released.
Act. Pub.
XI. 360.

Mean

* *James Boteler* or *Butler*, Son of *James* the fourth Duke of *Ormond* in *Ireland*, was created Earl of *Wiltſhire* 27 *Hen. VI.* and was now also by his Father's Death Duke of *Ormond*. *Dugdale*.

1455.
*The Duke
of York
and Som-
erset put
Things to
Arbitra-
tion.*
Act. Pub.
XI. 263.

*The Duke
of York
removed
from the
Govern-
ment of
Calais.*
March.

*He retires
into Wales,
and raises
an Army.*

Mean while some of the most prudent Lords dreading the ill Consequences of the Quarrel between the two Dukes, used their Endeavour to make them Friends. It was the Interest of both to show that they acted not from ambitious Motives; for their Aim was to gain the People's Affection. Wherefore they both consented to put Matters to Arbitration, and to stand to the Decision of the Umpires, under Penalty for him that refused of paying to the other Twenty Thousand Marks. But it was on Condition that the Sentence of the Arbitrators should be pronounced before the 20th of *June*.

Whilst People were in Expectation of the *Sentence*, the Duke of *Somerset* represented to the King, that he had been removed from the Government of *Calais* upon a bare Impeachment which had never been determined, and that it was not just that his Adversary should continue cloathed with his Spoils, since their Quarrel was not yet decided. Upon this Remonstrance, the King took from the Duke of *York* the Government he had conferred on him for seven Years. Then under Colour of being willing to stand Neuter between the two contending Parties, he declared himself *Governor of Calais*. In the *Act* whereby the Duke of *York* was removed, it was said, that the King had done it at the Duke's own Request. But the Duke taking this as a heinous Affront, withdrew from Court, where he found his Affairs began to be in a very ill Way.

He retired into *Wales*, not so much to screen himself from the Attempts of his Enemies, as with Design to levy an Army, and have it in his Power to attack them. He was very sensible that the Queen and Duke of *Somerset* being absolute Masters of the King's Person, had an Advantage of him which could not be taken from them but by Force. And therefore without further Consideration he resolved to take up Arms. The Court's Proceedings in releasing the Duke of *Somerset* out of the *Tower*, without giving the Nation any Satisfaction in that Respect, made him imagine he should be strongly supported, when he came to use that Pretence. He was not deceived in his Expectations. In a short Space he saw himself at the Head of

1455.

a numerous Army, and in Condition to make Head against the King, who was likewise prepared on his Part, and was marching directly towards him in order to give him Battle. The two Armies met near *St. Albans* on a level Ground, where nothing hindered them from engaging. The Duke of *York* willing to show that he had not taken up Arms but purely for the Good of the Publick, sent and offered the King to dismiss his Troops, if the Duke of *Somerset* was delivered to Justice, in order to be condemned if Guilty, or acquitted if Innocent. But the Court well knowing that this was only a vain Pretence, and that one Time or other, there would be a Necessity of deciding the Quarrel by Arms, rejected his Offer, and the Battle was fought on the 31st of *May*.

The Earl of *Warwick*, who commanded the Duke of *York*'s Vanguard, having expected this Answer, attacked the King's Army, whilst the Court was waiting for new Proposals from the Male-Contents. This Attack, which was as vigorous as sudden, put the Royal Army in such Disorder, that it was not in the Duke of *Somerset*'s Power to repair it. At the same Time the Duke of *York* improving this Advantage, advanced likewise from his Quarter, that the Enemies might not have Time to come to themselves. He pressed them so briskly, that the Royal Army was defeated in a few Moments, with the Loss of five Thousand Men, without having made any considerable Resistance. The Duke of *Somerset* was killed on the Spot, with the Earl of *Northumberland**, the Earl of *Stafford*, eldest Son of the Duke of *Buckingham*, the Lord *Clifford*, and several other Lords and Officers of Note*, all fast Friends of the *House of Lancaster*. The Duke of *Buckingham* having received a Wound, retired out of the Battle, which put the finishing Stroke to the Defeat of the King's Troops.

*The first
Battle of
St. Albans.*

*The King's
Army is
defeated,
and the
Duke of
Somerſet
ſlain.*

Mean

* Henry Percy Son of *Hotspur*, by the eldest Daughter of *Edmund Mortimer* Earl of *March*. he left Issue nine Sons (of whom Henry then 33 Years of Age, succeeded him,) and two Daughters.

* Of whom Forty eight were buried in *St. Albans*.

1455.
The King
falls into
the Hands
of the
Duke of
York, who
treats him
with Re-
spect.

Mean time the King, who was wounded in the Neck with an Arrow, seeing himself deserted in the Rout of his Army, retired to a little House, which was presently invested. The Duke of York having notice of it, ran thither with Speed in Company with the Earl of Salisbury, and presenting themselves before him on their Knees, told him, that since the common Enemy was dead, he beheld none there but such as were ready to obey him in whatever he should be pleased to command them. The King upon these Words recovering a little out of the Fright the Duke's Approach had put him into, intreated him, for God's sake, to put an end to the Slaughter, assuring him for his Part he was ready to give him all the Satisfaction he could reasonably desire. Whereupon the Duke ordered a Retreat to be sounded, and the Army to be forbid to shed any more Blood. Then he conducted the King to St. Albans, from whence they set out together for London.

The Par-
liament
meets.

and con-
demns the
Queen's
and So-
merfet's
Manage-
ment, and
justifies the
Duke of
York.

The King
is petition-
ed to
Name a
Protector.

Shortly after, Henry called a Parliament which met in the Month of July. The King being then relapsed, the Duke of York was commissioned to hold it in his Name. The Parliament, which at such a Juncture could scarce be made up of any but the Adherents of the Duke of York, forthwith made the following Declaration: That the Government had been ill-managed by the Queen and Duke of Somerset, who had abused the King's Goodness and Confidence: That the late Duke of Gloucester had been unjustly accused: That all the Alienations of the Crown-lands made since the first Year of the present Reign, should be revoked: That the Duke of York, the Earls of Salisbury or Warwick, or any that had lifted under their Banners, could not be blamed for taking up Arms against the King, seeing it was necessary in order to free his Person from Captivity: That on the contrary, the Blame was to be laid on the Duke of Somerset and his Adherents, for having conceal'd from the King the Duke of York's Letter, which might have prevented the Troubles raised in the Kingdom. Then the Parliament petitioned the King to nominate a Protector by reason of his Indisposition, which hindered him from attending to the Affairs of the Publick. This Petition was repeated

repeated several times, but the King returned no Answer to it. Not that he had resolved to reject it. He was no more at Liberty to follow his own Councils, than when he was under the Guardianship of the Queen and Duke of *Somerset*. But the Duke of *York* had a mind that his Nomination should not appear constrained. At length, the Parliament having been prorogued to the 12th of *November*, the very Day both *Houses* met again, the King signed a *Patent*, wherein he said, that having been frequently petitioned by his Parliament to nominate a Protector, he made choice of the Duke of *York* for that Important Employ, till he should be removed by the Parliament, or the young Prince of *Wales* should be fit for it. Then, after a Month's Session, the Parliament was prorogued to the 14th of *January*.

The Parliament is prorogued. The King makes the Duke of York Protector. Act. Pub. XI. 396. P. 370.

Whilst the Duke of *York* thus enjoyed the Advantage he had gained upon his Enemies, they for their Part were not idle. The Queen, who knew very well what he was driving at, was too much concerned in the Case, as well upon her own as the King's Account, not to try to disappoint his Designs. *Henry Duke of Somerset* *, Son of him slain at *St. Albans*, and the Duke of *Buckingham*, were equally desirous to revenge, the one his Son's, the other his Father's Death. In fine, all the Princes and Lords allied to the *House of Lancaster*, or attached to the *Lancastrian* Interest, beholding the Duke of *York* taking large Steps towards the Throne, were prepared to use their utmost Endeavour to stop his Progress. Mean while, the Duke of *York* lived in a Security and Unconcernedness which astonished his very Enemies. He perceived it would be too hazardous openly to claim a Crown which had been Fifty-six Years in the *House of Lancaster*. Wherefore he chose to wait till Time should bring along with it some favourable Opportunity to assert his Right. Above all Things, he wanted to gain the Peoples Affections, without which he was satisfied all his Endeavours would be to no Purpose. So that to let the World see that he was not swayed by Passion or Interest, he left the King and Queen at full Liberty. He imagined that

1456. *Project against the Duke of York.*

His Unconcernedness prejudicial to his Affairs.

* He bore the Title of *Earl of Mortaign* in his Father's Life-time

1456. it was not in their Power to deprive him of the *Protectorship*, which according to his *Patent* he was to enjoy till the Parliament removed him. But he had to deal with an able and enterprising Princess, who was not discouraged at the Rubs she met in her way.

*The King
recovers.*

The King having recovered his Health, the Duke of York's Enemies resolved to lay hold of this Juncture to de-vest him of his Dignity of *Protector*, which gave him to great a Sway. It would have been easy for him to foresee that the King's Recovery might be made a Handle, as it was once before, if the *Clause* in his *Patent* had not blinded his Eyes. But this *Clause* whereon he relied was a weak Fence against the Attempts of his Enemies. The Parliament be-

*The Duke
of York is
dismissed
from the
Protector-
ship.*

February.

ing met again, the King went thither in Person, and declared, that being by God's Grace in good Health, and in condition to hold the Reins of the Government, he did not think the Kingdom had any longer need of a Protector. Then he desired the Parliament to consent that the Duke of York might be dismissed from that Office. Whether the Parliament thought the King's Demand's reasonable, or whether the *Members* had been won unknown to the Duke, they immediately came to a Resolution to grant the King's Request. The same Day the King sent the Duke an Order to act no longer as Protector.

Act. Pub.
XI. 373.

*He with-
draws
from Court.*

The Duke of York and his Party were like Men Thunderstruck at this Proceeding. They easily perceived that the Combination was too strong for them to hope to be able to break it. Wherefore, making, as they say, a Virtue of Necessity, they feigned to submit with a good Grace to the King's and Parliament's Orders. However, under Colour of having nothing more to do at Court, they retired into the Country. But the Duke of York, and Earls of Salisbury and Warwick kept pretty near together in *Yorkshire*.

*Sedition at
London.*

Shortly after there was a Sedition at *London*, occasioned by a sudden Quarrel between two Merchants, an *Englishman* and an *Italian*. The Mob having rise in favour of the *Englishman*, the King impowered the Dukes of *Exeter* and *Buckingham* to bring the Guilty to a Tryal: but the Popu-lace would not suffer them to execute their Commission.

The

The Queen suspecting that this Tumult had been raised by the Duke of *York's* Adherents, and not thinking the King safe at *London*, carried him to *Coventry*, under Colour of change of Air. But besides this, she had another Motive of no less Importance: And that was, to intrap at once the Duke of *York* and the two Earls his Friends, who were all three retired into the *North*. She was informed, that notwithstanding they were separated in appearance, they had frequently, on divers Pretences, Conferences together, at which several other Lords of their Party were present. As she could not question but it was in order to concert Measures against the King, she believed she should carry her Point, if she could draw them to *Coventry*, where they would not find the same Protection as at *London*. With this view she sent them Letters under the King's own Hand, requiring their Presence at Court, where he wanted their Advice in an Affair of the utmost Consequence.

1456.

The Queen takes the King into Warwickshire.

She tries to draw the three Lords to Court.

They are like to be intrapped.

The Duke of *York* had not yet done any thing openly, which showed that he aspired to the Crown. This was a Secret between him and his principal Friends. It is true indeed, the Court was satisfied of it, but it was not possible to prove it upon him. Hitherto he had varnished his Actions with the Good of the Publick. And for that very reason he was formidable to the Court. But though it was no easy thing to convict him legally, he could not be ignorant that there were speedier and more certain Ways of getting rid of him, and that his Enemies were not over-scrupulous. Besides, though he had been able to hide his Designs from the People, he could not imagine that he had blinded the Eyes of the Queen, who was too much concerned in the Case not to see through his Disguise. Notwithstanding these Considerations, which should have put upon their guard the three Lords who had received the King's Letters, they resolved to go to him. They flattered themselves that *Henry* being at length sensible of the Mismanagement of the Queen and *Ministry*, required their Assistance in making some Alterations at Court: But whilst they were upon the Road to *Coventry*, their private Emis- saries undeceived them, and let them know they would not

But upon Notice of the Queen's Designs they retire

1456.

be safe there. This Advice having made them take other Measures, they thought best to part. The Duke of *York* withdrew to his Castle of *Wigmore*, in the *Marches* of *Wales*; and the Earl of *Salisbury* to his Seat [at *Middleham* *] in *Yorkshire*; as for the Earl of *Warwick*, he went directly to *Calais*, of which he had been made Governour, after the Battle of *St. Albans*. The Queen was extremely vexed at having missed her Aim. But her Comfort was however, that she had separated the three Lords, and by that means rendered them less formidable.

1457.

The French
invade the
Coasts of
England;

The Fears and Jealousies of both Parties were in some measure laid asleep during the Year 1457 by foreign Affairs. As the *English* had formerly taken the Advantage of the Dissensions which tore *France* in pieces, in order to make Conquests upon that Kingdom, *Charles VII.* thought that he ought not to neglect the Opportunity which the Quarrels at the Court of *England* seemed to offer him. To that Purpose he got ready two Fleets which were to invade *England* in two different Quarters. The first sailing to the *Downs*, plundered the Town of *Sandwich*. The other served [*Foy*] a little Town in *Cornwall* in the same manner. But this was all they did worth notice. In all likelihood they were but ill provided to venture upon more important Attempts. So that it was properly but a kind of Bravado to insult the *English* in their own Country, after having driven them out of *France*.

The Scots
invade the North-
ern Parts.
Act. Pub.
XI. 327.

About the same time the *Scots* made likewise an Inroad into the *Northern* Counties, from whence they carried off some Booty. The Truth is, there was a Truce concluded in 1453 between *England* and *Scotland*, till the 21st of *May* this Year, on Condition that upon the Time being expired, he of the two Kings that had a mind to renew the War should give the other notice of it One Hundred and Eighty

* This Lordship came to the *Nevils* by *Mary*, Daughter and Co-heir to *Ralph Fitz-Randolph*, Lord of *Middleham*, who was married to *Robert de Nevil*, one of the Ancestors of the Earl of *Salisbury*. This *Robert de Nevil* frequenting the Company of a certain Lady in *Craven* in an adulterous Manner, was surprized by the Lady's Husband, who in revenge cut off his Genitals, which threw him into such excessive Grief, that he died *June 6. 1721. 55 Hen. 3. Dug.*

Eighty Days before-hand. But so many Attempts had been made on both Sides, that neither Party thought themselves obliged to keep the Treaty. The very last Year, the two Kings had writ one another affronting Letters, full of Haughtiness and Contempt. However, whether the Scots had only acted with design to revenge some particular Injury, or for some other Reason, the Truce was renewed from the 1st of *July* this Year to that day Twelve-Month, 1459, and afterwards prolonged to the 16th of *July* 1463.

1457.

P. 383.

Truce re-
newed with
Scotland,
389, 407.

Matters being adjusted with the foreign Enemies, domesticks Feuds were just going to break out again, if some peaceful Tempers had not used their Endeavours to prevent the fatal Consequences of these Divisions. It was easy to see that the two Parties, in deciding their Quarrels by Arms, could not but ruin the Kingdom, and occasion in the End some sad Revolution. Neither Party had so much the odds as to be able to hope for certain Victory. Success depended on the Issue of the War, too doubtful an Issue for either of the Parties to ground any reasonable Prospect upon. The Duke of *York* was very sensible that it was no easy Matter to dispossess by Force a King that had sat on the Throne Thirty-five Years. The Truth is, though *Henry* was little esteemed by his Subjects by reason of his Incapacity, yet he gained their Affections by the Innocency of his Life, and the Uprightness of his Intentions, though ill-supported by his slender Abilities. On the other Hand, the Queen, the new Duke of *Somerſet*, who held the late Duke his Father's Post, the rest of the *Ministry*, and the whole *House of Lancaster*, were in a very tottering Condition. The *French* and *Scots* took advantage from these Quarrels to invade the Kingdom, and all Miscarriages were laid to their Door who governed in the King's Name. The Court saw plainly that the Duke of *York* made use of this Handle to stir up the People against them. Though hitherto he had not made so great Progress as he could have wished, he saw himself however in Condition to make a much greater very quickly. These Reasons added to the King's Instances that Means might be sought to make up the Quarrels, moved the Queen and the Duke of *Somerſet* at length to send

1458.

The two
Parties
are out-
wardly re-
concil'd

1458.

send the Duke of *York* an Offer of a sincere Reconciliation. This first Step being taken, the King desired the Duke of *York* and his Friends to repair to *London*, a Place which by them could not be suspected, in order to bring about an Accommodation. He writ them a Letter with his own Hand, wherein he promised them *upon his Salvation* that he would do them no Injury, and that his Intention was sincere and undissembled.

Such an Invitation could not be rejected, without an open Declaration of his Designs, which the Duke of *York* was willing to avoid. Wherefore the Lords of his Party resolved to accept it. They were jealous however of the Queen, who on her Part had as little Confidence in them. It may be, they were both equally in the Right. It is very likely, that each Party hoped to reap some Benefit from this Meeting, without intending however to alter their first Schemes. Mean while, to remove all Fears, it was agreed that both Parties might come attended with a certain Number of armed Followers. The King even gave the Earl of *Warwick* leave, who was to come from *Calais*, to bring along with him four and Twenty Foreigners besides the *English* *.

Every thing being thus settled, the Lords of both Parties came to *London* in the Month of *January*: but the Earl of *Warwick* arrived not till *February*. They were lodged in two different Quarters, to avoid the Disorders which their being together might occasion. The *Mayor of London* * rode every Night round the City with his Train-Bands to the Number of Ten Thousand. The King and Queen entered the City the 27th of *March*, and took up their Lodging in the Bishop's Palace, at an equal Distance from both Parties.

Mediators being chosen with unanimous Consent, such was the Temper of both Sides, that on the 3d of *April* a Reconc-

* He brought with him 600 Men in Red-coats, imbroidered with Ragged-Staves before and behind. The Earl of *Salisbury* brought 500; the Duke of *York* 400. The Dukes of *Somerset* and *Exeter* 800. The Earl of *Northumberland*, the Lords *Egremont* and *Clifford* 1500.

* Sir *Godfrey Bullen*, Ancestor of two famous Queens, *Ann*, second Wife of *Henry VIII.* and Queen *Elizabeth* their Daughter.

Reconciliation was made to the common Satisfaction of the King, the Queen, the Parties concerned, and the whole Kingdom. The Substance of the Agreement was that, all Animosity a-part, the Lords should live together in Peace and Concord, and in perfect Obedience to the King's Commands. But to cut off all occasion of Complaint, it was agreed that the Duke of *York*, the Earls of *Salisbury* and *Warwick*, with some others of that Party, should be admitted into the *Council*. Then the 5th of *April* was appointed for a publick Thanksgiving Day on account of this Reconciliation, wherein a *solemn Procession* was made in *St. Paul's Church*. The King and Queen and all the Lords were present, and walked two and two, one of each Party, in token of present Union *. The Duke of *York* led the Queen by the Hand, who in going made show of favourable Countenance towards him.

1458.

The Duke of York and his Friends re-admitted into the Council. Solemn Procession.

It appeared however soon after, that notwithstanding all this outward Show and Parade, Friendship was far from being really established between the two Parties. The Duke of *York* and his two principal Friends always fearing some Treachery from their reconciled Enemies, withdrew from Court on divers Pretences. The Duke and Earl of *Salisbury* went to *York*, and the Earl of *Warwick* to his Government of *Calais*. The *English* Historians say, that this Earl being Admiral of *the Channel*, equipped fourteen Ships to go and give Chace to some *Spanish* Corsairs who infested the narrow Seas, and having met them, sunk several, and brought in six to *Calais*. But it is probable they were mistaken, since the *Collection of the Publick Acts* give quite another Notion of this Affair. It is true, we find there that the Republicks of *Genoa* and *Lubeck* complained to the King on this Occasion against the Earl of *Warwick*, and that the King appointed Commissioners to enquire into the Matter. But in their Commission there is no mention of *Spanish* Ships. It even appears that this Engagement happened

The Duke of York and his Friends retire from Court.

The Earl of Warwick seizes upon some foreign Ships.

A. & Pub. XI. 415.

* Before the King went Hand in Hand the Duke of *Somerset* and Earl of *Salisbury*; the Duke of *Exeter* and Earl of *Warwick*: And behind the King came the Queen and Duke of *York*.

1451.
He comes to
England
to justify
what he
had done.

pened purely by Means of an accidental Quarrel between the Ships of *Genoa* and *Lubeck*, and those which were carrying the Earl of *Warwick* with his Retinue to *Calais*. This does not show that they were Pyrates, or that the Earl of *Warwick* attacked them designedly. Be this as it will, upon their Complaint he was forced to return to *England* to answer for himself, where he staid six or seven Weeks.

Quarrel
between
his and the
King's Ser-
vants.

Whilst the Earl was at *London* it happened one Day, that whilst he was present at the *Council Board*, one of his People picked a Quarrel with a Servant of the King's, and wounded him. Whereupon the rest of the King's Servants snatching up what lay next to Hand, one a Sword, another a Club, or some other kind of Arms, ran to revenge their Comrade. As they could not light on him that had been the Aggressor, they fell upon the rest of the Earl of *Warwick's* Train. In fine, they even assaulted his Person as he was coming out of the *Council* to go to his Barge which waited for him on the *Thames*. They fell foul on him in such a manner, that he very hardly escaped, after having seen several of his Followers killed on the Spot. He made no question but this was a Contrivance of the Queen's to dispatch him, without appearing to have any Hand in the Matter. He was confirmed in his Opinion, when he heard the King had ordered him to be apprehended and sent to the *Tower*. He had notice of this timely enough to disappoint those who were sent to arrest him. It is a pretty hard Matter to decide, whether the Queen contrived this Quarrel on purpose to get rid of him, or whether it happened by Accident. However that be, the Order given to apprehend him, though he himself had Reason to complain, made him sensible that he should never be safer from the Plots of his Enemies, than when he attacked them with open Force. With a Mind full of Resentment at the Affront he had received, he went to the Earl of *Salisbury* his Father, and without Delay, they both repaired together to the Duke of *York*, to consult what was to be done upon this Occasion. From what had lately happened they concluded that the Reconciliation made at *London* was

He is at-
tacked, and
hardly
escapes.

He is order-
ed to be
seized.

He takes
Measures
with his
Father and
the Duke of
York.

only

only a Snare to entrap them the more easily and destroy them one after another. Perhaps they were not sorry for having this Handle to justify the Resolution they took of acting openly, as not being able to rely any more on the Promises of the Court. Pursuant to this Project, the Earl of *Warwick* speedily returned to *Calais* to make sure of that Place, not questioning but they had a Design to take it from him. 1458. He returns to Calais.

Mean while the Duke of *York* and the Earl of *Salisbury* took Measures to bring about their Designs. They agreed, that whilst the Duke should levy an Army in *Wales*, the Earl should advance towards *London* at the Head of five or six Thousand Men, and openly demand Satisfaction for the Injury done to his Son. As this could not be executed without the Queen's knowing it, she ordered the Lord *Audley* * to be commissioned to raise Troops and go against the Earl of *Salisbury*. *Audley* made such dispatch, that in a very short Time he saw himself at the Head of ten Thousand Men, and in Condition to march towards *Lancashire*, through which County the Earl of *Salisbury* was to pass. But he found the Earl was already advanced as far as *Shropshire*, where the two Armies met. The Earl of *Salisbury*, though but half as strong as the Enemy, did not think proper to retreat, but resolved to make use of a Stratagem to obtain a Victory, which otherwise he could have no great Prospect of. *Audley* being encamped on *Bore-Heath*, close by a little River, *Salisbury* went and posted himself on the other Side, as if he meant to guard the Pass and hinder his being attacked. Then on a sudden, feigning fear, he retired in the Night, ordering his March so that at break of Day his Enemies could still see the Rear of his Army. This Retreat, which seemed to be made in haste, having inspired the *Royalists* with Eagerness, they began to pass the River in Disorder, imagining they had no- 1459. The Earl of Salisbury marches towards London with an Army. The Lord Audley is sent against him. The Battle of Bore-Heath. Audley is slain.

* *James Tuchet* Grandson of *John Tuchet* by *Joan* Sister and Heir of *Nicholas Aldithly* or *Audley* of *Heleigh*, who died without Issue-Male. Wherefore the Posterity of the said *John* and *Joan* had the Title of Lord *Audley*.

1459. thing to do but to pursue the flying Enemy. But whilst they were in this Confusion, some already over the River, others in the Water, and others ready to pass, the Earl of *Salisbury* wheeled about and fell upon the Troops already come over, who had scarce Time to draw up. The Fight lasted however four or five Hours, because the King's Troops were backed by those that were passing the River continually. But as this could not be done without Confusion, the Royal Army was at length put to Rout with Loss of two Thousand four Hundred Men. *Audley* himself was slain, with all the principal Officers*.

Salisbury joins York. The Court raises an Army.

The Duke of York prepares also.

The Earl of Warwick joins the Duke of York.

The King marches towards the Male-contents.

The Earl of *Salisbury*, having thus opened his Way, went and joined the Duke of *York*, who was raising Troops in *Wales*. It would have been too hazardous for him to continue his March towards *London*, because the Court had already drawn together a great many Forces at *Coventry*. The Queen, who commanded always in the King's Name, used all possible Endeavours to have a strong Army. She saw plainly that there was nothing to be done at this Pinch without having vastly the Odds on her Side. On the other Hand, the Duke of *York* and Earl of *Salisbury* were no less intent upon procuring all the Assistance possible, in order to be able to withstand the Forces that were preparing against them. They sent Word to the Earl of *Warwick*, that it was very necessary he should come and join them, and try to bring some Troops along with him. Upon receiving this Advice, *Warwick* left *Calais* under the Government of *William Nevill* Lord *Falconbridge* his Uncle, and took with him Part of the Garrison, of which he gave the Command to Sir *Andrew Trollop*, who had signalized himself in the Wars of *France*.

It was seven Months after the Battle of *Bore-Heath* before the two Parties had drawn all their Forces together. *October* was come and no Motion had been made on either Side. At length the King set out for *Coventry*, where he had

* The *Cheeshire* Men were the greatest Sufferers, who wore that Day little *Silver Swans* the Prince of *Wales's* Badge, which the Queen had ordered to be distributed to all the Gentlemen of that County. This Battle was fought about a Mile from *Draiton* in *Shropshire*.

had assembled his Troops, and marched towards *Wales* in quest of the Male-contents who were encamped about *Ludlow*. When he came to *Gloucester*, he made a Halt, and sent an Offer of *Pardon* to the Rebels, on Condition they would lay down their Arms. They returned in Answer, that they could no longer rely on such Promises which were intended only for Snares to entrap them, as was visible from what had happened at *London* to the Earl of *Warwick*; that nevertheless they were ready to submit to the King, if he could find some Expedient for their Safety. Upon this Answer the King ordered his Army to move forwards. At the same Time he gave the Duke of *Somerset* a Patent to be Governour of *Calais* in the Room of the Earl of *Warwick*. But it was easier to give the Duke a Grant of this Government in Parchment than to put him in Possession.

1459.

He offers them a Pardon. They demand Security.

The King makes Somerset Governour of Calais.

Letter of the Male-contents to the King.

They are deserted by their Troops.

The King having advanced with Design to give Battle, the *Yorkists* sent him a very submissive Letter, praying him to consider that they had taken up Arms purely in their own Defence against the Attempts of their Enemies; That it was plain they intended no more, by their keeping in a Corner of the Kingdom, without undertaking any Thing, being determined not to fight but upon Compulsion; That they desired only the Redress of the Grievances introduced into the Government to the great Oppression of the People, by the Fault of the Ministry. Lastly, they besought the King to look upon them as Loyal Subjects who had no Designs upon his Person, and to restore them to Favour.

This Letter had a quite contrary Effect to what they expected. Their Enemies not questioning but Fear had made them talk in this humble manner, advanced within half a Mile of them, with a Resolution to give them Battle next Day. At the same Time they found Means to disperse in the Enemy's Camp the King's Proclamation, offering Pardon to all the Adherents of the rebellious Lords, provided they would lay down their Arms. This Proclamation had a wonderful Effect. The Duke of *York's* Troops imagining the King offered a *Pardon*, by Reason of the Superiority of his Forces, and that there was no

1459.

*The Duke
of York
flies into
Ireland.
Warwick
and Salis-
bury to
Calais.*

Time to spare to take the Benefit of it, immediately began to disperse themselves. Sir *Andrew Trollop*, who commanded the Detachment of the Garrison of *Calais*, put the whole Army in Disorder by going over in the Night to the King's Camp, with the Troops under his Command. This Desertion, which encreased every Moment, threw the Leaders into so terrible a Consternation, that fearing to be delivered up to the King as soon as Day should appear, they chose to save themselves by Flight. The Duke of *York* taking with him the Earl of *Rutland* his second Son, went and embarked for *Ireland*. The Earl of *Warwick* fled towards *Calais*, and the Earl of *Salisbury* speedily followed him thither with the Earl of *March* eldest Son of the Duke of *York*. This young Prince was then about nineteen Years old. The Generals having thus shifted for themselves, the rest of the Officers and Soldiers saw themselves left to the King's Mercy, who was pleased to pardon all but a few that were executed for an Example.

*The Duke
of York
and his
Adherents
are at-
tainted.*

The Parliament being assembled in *December*, declared the Duke of *York* and his Adherents guilty of High-Treason. Their Estates were confiscated, and both they and their Posterity, pronounced incapable of inheriting, till the fourth Generation. We behold in this a remarkable Instance of the variableness of the Parliament, according as the Scene of Affairs was shifted. I shall have frequent Occasion in the Sequel to take notice of the like Proceedings.

*The Duke
of Somers-
et is re-
pulsed at
Calais.*

Upon the breaking up of the Parliament, the Duke of *Somerset* went and embarked with a Body of Troops, in order to take Possession of his Government of *Calais*; but the Garrison firing upon him, he was obliged to land elsewhere, and retire to *Guisnes*, from whence he made frequent Incursions about *Calais*. But those little Sallies were not capable of rendering him Master of so strong a Place.

1460.

*The Queen
sends him
Supplies,
which are
carried off
to Calais.*

The Queen finding the Earl of *Warwick* would not be deprived of his Government, fitted out a Fleet to transport Succours to the Duke of *Somerset*. The Fleet well provided with all Things lay at *Sandwich* expecting a fair Wind to put to Sea. The Earl of *Warwick* having notice

of

of it, ordered a Body of Troops to set out privately from *Calais*, under the Command of Sir *John Dinham*, who coming to *Sandwich* about break of Day, surprized most of the Officers in their Beds *. As soon as he had them in his Power, he found Means to win the Soldiers and Mariners, and carried off the King's Ships to *Calais*.

The Earl of *Warwick* made use of these Ships to convoy him to *Ireland*, where he went to concert with the Duke of *York* the Measures they were to take for their common Defence. After he had been gone about a Month, he met in his Return the Duke of *Exeter* Admiral of *England*, who waited to take him in his Passage. But the Royal Fleet showed so little Inclination to fight against him, that the Duke of *Exeter* fearing he should meet with some Disgrace, thought not proper to attack him.

The Queen and the *Ministry* doubted not but the Inter-view of the Duke of *York* and the Earl of *Warwick* would produce a fresh Rebellion. This was the Reason that at a *Council* held upon that Account, it was resolved that strict Search should be made in all the *Shires* and Towns in *England* after the Adherents of the Duke of *York*, and that such should be dispatched out of the Way, as were the greatest Sticklers for him, and best able to do him Service. It was not questioned but this Method would put an effectual Stop to his ambitious Views. Pursuant to this Resolution, *James Butler* Earl of *Wiltshire*, and the Lord *Scales* were impowered to make strict Inquisition for those that had bore Arms on the Side of the Male-contents in the late Rebellion, and to punish them according to Law. These two Lords began to execute their Commission in some of the Towns * which had declared the most openly for the Duke of *York*, and condemned several Persons to Death. Of all the Counties in the Kingdom, there was none that had more Reason to feel the Court's Resentment than that of *Kent*. Upon all Occasions that County had shown a
very

1459.

1460.
Warwick
consults
with York.

The Duke
of Exeter
durst not
attack
him.

The Court
resolves to
get rid of
the York-
ills.

A Com-
mission to
that Pur-
pose.

* *Richard Woodvil* Earl of *Rivers* the Admiral, and his Son *Anthoni* were both taken Prisoners.

* In *Newbury*, a Lordship belonging to the D. of *York*. *Dugdale*.

1460.
Kent al-
larmed at
it,

and in-
vites over
the Lords
at Calais.

They send
Falcon-
bridge
before;

Who sends
back Word
how the
People
stood af-
fected.

The Lords
publish a
Manifesto.

very strong Attachment to the Duke of *York*, and the Bu-
siness of *Cade* was not yet forgot. Wherefore the Peo-
ple of *Kent* perceiving by what was practised in other Places,
that their Ruin was unavoidable, began betimes to think
of the Means to prevent it. To that End they sent Word
to the Lords at *Calais*, that if they would make a Descent
in the County of *Kent*, they should be received with open
Arms, and that the Inhabitants were ready to venture their
Lives and Fortunes in their Cause.

This Overture was very agreeable to the Lords. How-
ever, not to embark inconsiderately in this Affair, they sent
the Lord *Falconbridge* before to sound the People's Inclina-
tions. *Falconbridge* meeting at Sea with Sir *Simon Mon-*
fort, who was appointed to guard the Coasts, attacked him,
and taking him Prisoner with a great many other Officers,
sent them all to *Calais*. Upon their Arrival, the Earl of
March caused the Heads of a Dozen of them to be struck
off, by way of Retaliation for the Adherents of the Duke
his Father, who had been put to Death in *England*. These
are Acts of Cruelty hardly to be avoided in *Civil Wars*.

Falconbridge being come to *Sandwich*, found the Inhabi-
tants of that Place and of the whole County of *Kent* so
well-affected to the Lords, that he writ to *Calais* that there
was no Time to be lost; that the County of *Kent* was up-
on the Brink of Ruin, if not suddenly relieved; and that
in the Fright People were under, there was no doubt but
not only that County, but several others would take up
Arms against the Court, if they could have any Prospect
of being backed. This Juncture appearing so favourable,
the Lords at *Calais* resolved to make the best of it, and took
care to inform the Duke of *York*, who still kept in *Ireland*,
how Matters stood. Before they set Sail, they dispersed
in the County of *Kent* and the Country round a *Manifesto*,
wherein they declared, that the sole Motive of their taking
up Arms was to free the poor People from the Oppression
they groaned under, and to maintain their *Rights* and *Privi-*
leges. Adding, that they did not question in the least but
all honest *Englishmen* would assist them in the Execution
of so good a Design. This *Manifesto* had such an Effect,

that

that the Lords being arrived at *Sandwich* with fifteen Hundred Men only, found there a Body of four Thousand strong conducted by the Lord *Cobham*. With this Reinforcement they began their March towards *London*, well knowing the Citizens were ready to receive them. And indeed, the Gates being opened to them, they entered the City at the Head of Forty Thousand Men, their Army having increased to that Number in a March of so few Miles. The Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Bishops of *London*, *Lincoln*, *Ely*, *Exeter*, declared for them.

1460.
They arrived at
Sandwich.
Their Army is in-
creased to
40000.
They are
admitted
into Lon-
don.

Mean while the Queen, who was at *Coventry*, was not idle. She had endeavoured to hinder the Admittance of the Male-Contents into *London*, by dispatching thither the Lord *Scales* with a good Body of Troops. But the Mayor had shut the Gates against him, even before the Arrival of the Lords. The Lord *Scales* seeing himself thus repulled, had thrown himself into the *Tower*, from whence he threatened to demolish the City with his Cannon, if the Rebels were admitted. But his Threats were not capable of frightening the Citizens. In the Interim, the King and Queen drew together their Forces at *Coventry*, with all possible Expedition. As soon as their Army was in a Readiness to march, they conferred the Command on the Duke of *Somerset*, lately returned from *Guisnes*, and the Duke of *Buckingham*. But this was only for Form's sake, the Queen herself being really General, since nothing was done but by her Orders, though the King was present in Person. The young Earl of *March* having notice that the Queen was marching towards *London*, went from thence with Five and Twenty Thousand Men, to try to give her Battle before she should have drawn any more Forces together. He left at *London* the Earl of *Salisbury* with a good Part of his Troops, and took with him the Earl of *Warwick* and the Lord *Cobham*, who served him as his Lieutenant-Generals. Upon his going from *London*, the Lord *Scales* ordered the *Tower* Cannon to play against the City, and did some damage. But by the Care which the Earl of *Salisbury* took to hinder any Provision from being brought him, he was himself reduced to very great Streights.

The Queen
tries in
vain to
prevent
them.

She assem-
bles her
Forces at
Coventry,
and mar-
ches to-
wards
London.

The Lords
go to meet
her.

The

1460.
The Queen
passes a
River to
fight them.

The Court
rejects the
Submission
of the
Lords.

The Battle
of North-
ampton.

The Royal
Army is
defeated,
and the
King taken.

The Queen having advanced towards the Male-Contents, incamped on a Plain hard by *Northampton*, with a little River behind her. She had made haste to pass the Rivulet, lest the Enemy should take the Advantage of it to avoid fighting. So eager was she to decide the Quarrel by a Battle. But this Precaution was so far from being of any Service to her, that it turned greatly to her Prejudice, as we shall see presently. The Earls of *March* and *Warwick* having likewise advanced, encamped on the 17th of *July* between *Torcester* and *Northampton*. The same Day they sent the Bishop of *Salisbury* to the King, beseeching him to suspend his Indignation, and seek with them the Means of an Accommodation, which would save the Effusion of *English* Blood. But the Court perceiving that this was only a general Proposal, intended purely for an outside Show, would by no means give Ear to it. Wherefore both Sides prepared for Battle.

On the 19th of *July* the Army of the *Yorkists* advanced towards the King's. The Earl of *Warwick* commanded the Right Wing, the Lord *Cobham* the Left, and the Earl of *March* was in the Center. The Dukes of *Somerset* and *Buckingham* were at the Head of the Royalists, whilst the Queen kept at some Distance, to observe what should pass, and to give Orders accordingly. The King staid in the Camp in his Tent, watching the Issue of a Battle, which in all Appearance was to secure him the Crown, or deprive him of it for ever. The Fight began not till Two in the Afternoon, the Lords having first published through the Army, that great Care should be taken not to hurt the King's Person, to spare the common Soldiers, and to put none but the Officers to the Sword. They fought two Hours, some say five, with great Ardour and Obstinacy on both Sides, till at length the Lord *Grey*, [of *Ruthin*] who commanded a considerable Body of the King's Army, went over on a sudden to the Male-contents. This unexpected Desertion quite disheartned the *Royalists*. In the Apprehension they were under that other Bodies would do the like, they began by degrees to give ground, and at last were put to rout with loss of Ten Thousand Men. The River,

1460.

River, which was in their Rear, made the Slaughter greater than it would have been, if the Vanquished had been able to fly without any hindrance; besides that abundance were drowned in endeavouring to repass the River. The Duke of *Buckingham*, the Earl of *Shrewsbury* Son of the renowned *Talbot*, the Lord *Beaumont* *, and several other Lords and Officers of Distinction were slain on the Spot. The Queen, the young Prince of *Wales*, and the Duke of *Somerset*, rid away full speed, and scarce ever stopped till they came to *Durham*, so much were they afraid of being delivered to their Enemies. The unfortunate King, who continued in his Tent, fell once more into the Hands of the victorious Lords, who paid him however all the Respect which he could have expected from them, had he been in his greatest Prosperity. This Deference was some Comfort to him in the Condition he was in, who would have been more worthy of Pity, if his natural Imbecility had not rendered him as it were insensible of good and bad Fortune. Immediately after the Battle he was honourably conducted to *Northampton*, where he resided some Time. After that, on the 16th of *August* he came to *London*, surrounded with a Crowd of Lords, who a few Days before had fought against him. Mean while the Queen, not thinking her self safe at *Durham*, privately withdrew, attended by eight Persons only, into *Wales*, where it would never have come into her Enemies Heads to go in quest of her. Shortly after she left her Retreat to go with the Prince her Son and take Refuge in *Scotland*.

*The Queen
flies to
Durham.*

*The King
is treated
with Re-
spect,*

*and con-
ducted to
London.
The Queen
retires in-
to Wales.*

Upon the King's Arrival at *London* he called a Parliament for the 2d of *October*. They who governed him wanted this Delay, in order to send for the Duke of *York* who was still in *Ireland*. They took care to acquaint him with what had passed, and desired him to repair to *London* with all possible speed, that he might be there at the opening of the Parliament, or sooner if the Wind would permit. In the Interim they acted in the King's Name, and got him to sign all the *Orders* which suited with their Interest. We find in the *Collection of Publick Acts*, a *Patent* which con-

*A Parlia-
ment is
called.*

* *John de Beaumont*, the first Viscount in England, created 18 Hen. 6.

1460.
The King's
Declara-
tion in fa-
vour of the
Duke of
York.
Act. Pub.
XI. 460.
The King
of Scotland
besieges
Roxbo-
rough.

He is killed
by the splin-
ter of a
Cannon.

Charles
VII dies,
and is suc-
ceeded by
Lewis XI.

The Duke
of York
arrives,
and goes to
the Parlia-
ment. He
expects in
vain to be
asked to
seat him-
self on the
Throne.

firmed to the Earl of *Warwick* the Government of *Calais*, and an Order to the Duke of *Somerset* to give him up that of *Guisnes*. And likewise a Declaration of the King's, acknowledging the Duke of *York* and his Adherents for good and faithful Subjects, as having given undoubted Marks of their Loyalty, not only in Word but in Deed.

Whilst *England* was thus in Combustion, *James II* King of *Scotland*, prepared to make an Irruption. It was the Duke of *York* that after his retiring into *Ireland* had engaged him to break with *Henry*, by some advantagious Offers, hoping to reap some Benefit himself from this Diversi-
on. Though last Year *James* had concluded with *England* a Four Years Truce, he believed he ought not to let slip this Opportunity without improving it. Indeed he alledged several Reasons to give a Colour to the Invasion he was meditating, but the Circumstances *England* then was in, was the sole and real Motive of his Preparations. Be that as it will, a few Days after the Battle of *Northampton*, he entered *England* at the Head of an Army, and besieged *Roxborough*. But he had not Time to make any great Pro-
gress. One of his own Cannon happening to burst, he was killed with a Splinter on the 4th of *August*. *James III* his eldest Son, then but seven Years old, was his Successor. The Queen his Widow, who was in the Army, carried on the Siege till the Town was surrendered.

The Death of *James II* had been preceeded some Days by that of *Charles VII* King of *France*. It is affirmed that he suffered himself to be starved for fear of being poi-
soned by the *Dauphin* his Son, who mounted the Throne of *France* after him, by the Name of *Lewis XI*.

The Duke of *York* could not get to *London* till two Days after the opening of the Parliament. He rode directly to *Westminster*, and lighting from his Horse, went to the *House of Lords*, where he stood some Time under the *Canopy of State*, with his Hand on the Throne, as it were ex-
pecting they should ask him to seat himself thereon. But the Silence of the *House* made him plainly enough perceive that his Intention was not universally approved of. At the same Time, to encrease the Confusion their Silence had put him

1460.

him into, the Archbishop of *Canterbury* approaching him, asked him whether he would not go and pay his Respects to the King. With what Caution soever the Duke had carried it hitherto, he could not forbear blushing at this Proposal, and telling the Archbishop he knew no Person to whom he owed that Honour. Upon these Words he immediately withdrew to his own House. He was too sharp-sighted not to see that he expected in vain that they should intreat him to accept of the Crown. And therefore without disguising his Sentiments any longer, he sent next Morning a Writing to the Parliament containing the Reasons on which his Pretensions were grounded. As they have been frequently mentioned, it will be needless to repeat them. It suffices to say in a Word, that he laid Claim to the Crown as Heir of the *House of March*. This Affair was very briskly debated in Parliament, according to the Knowledge and Inclination of the *Members*. One cannot without being very tedious, stay to relate all the Arguments which were brought *Pro* and *Con*. But as this is a Matter of great Moment, it will not be improper to give the Substance of what was objected against the Duke of *York's* Claim, and the Replies of his Friends thereto. I must not however forget to remark, that both Sides referred it to the Decision of the Parliament, which they equally acknowledged for the sole Judge of this Affair.

*He sends
the Parlia-
ment a
Memorial
to justify
his Claim.*

In the first Place it was said, that when *Henry IV*, Grand-
father of the present King, took Possession of the Throne, no
Body offered to oppose him.

*Arguments
Pro and
Con.*

The Duke of *York's* Friends replied, that as *Edmund* Earl of *March*, who was then alive, could not dispute it with him without manifest Danger, his Silence could not be interpreted for Consent.

II. It was alledged on the King's behalf, that *Henry IV* his Grandfather had received the Crown by the Parliament's Authority. To this it was answered, that the Duke of *York* did not pretend to take Possession of it without the same Authority, as it appeared by his *Memorial* directed to both *Houses*. But that as the Parliament had the strong

Reasons

1460.

Reasons to proceed contrary to Custom, in Favour of the *House of Lancaster*, so they had at present no less Motives to do the Duke of *York* the Justice due to him. They who talked in this manner, took care not to call the Parliament's Authority in Question, at a Time when they intended to make use of it to place the Duke of *York* on the Throne. But in all Appearance they did not speak upon this Subject all they thought.

III. The Resignation of *Richard II* was pleaded in behalf of the *House of Lancaster*.

Answer was made, by denying that *Richard's* Resignation concerned that House in particular, or even the Person of *Henry IV*. But supposing it had, it was not in the Power of a King actually a Prisoner, and upon the Point of being deposed, to settle the Succession.

IV. It was objected against the Duke of *York*, that the Earl of *Cambridge* his Father having been executed for High-Treason, his Posterity by that were rendered incapable of any Inheritance.

The Duke's Adherents answered, that he had been restored to his Honours, and all his Rights, and acknowledged for Duke of *York* and Earl of *March* by the King himself, and the whole Kingdom.

V. It was further urged, that the *House of Lancaster* had enjoyed the Crown above sixty Years.

To this it was replied, that *Prescription* was no Plea against the Right of succeeding to the Crown, which was a natural Right, and not to be destroyed by a positive Law.

VI. Lastly, It was represented on the King's Behalf, that having now reigned thirty-eight Years, and all along led an Innocent Life, without having given any Person Cause to complain of him, it would be a very great Piece of Cruelty to strip him of the Crown.

This Argument seemed to be of great Weight: But the Duke of *York's* Friends replied, that *Henry* being incapable of governing by himself, to leave him in Possession of the Crown, was not doing him a Kindness so much as the Queen and her *Ministers*, who abused his Name and Authority. Moreover, that it was not fit the whole Kingdom should

should be ruined for his Sake, or a Wrong done from a Motive of Charity. 1460.

One may easily judge that these and several other Reasons alledged by the two Parties, were displayed and set off to the best Advantage, especially in the Parliament, where there are generally a great many ingenious Men. This was a very proper Subject to exercise the Wits, difficult in it self, and still more so by the present Posture of Affairs. At length, after a Debate of several Days, it was resolved, that *Henry* should enjoy the Crown during his Life, and the Duke of *York* be declared his Successor. This Resolve was passed into an *Act of Parliament*, which ran, That notwithstanding the Duke of *York*'s indisputable Title to the Crown, he had freely consented that *Henry* should possess it for his Life, and was willing to swear Allegiance to him as to his lawful Sovereign. But if in Case the King should come in any manner whatever to break this Agreement, then the Crown should immediately be devolved to the Duke of *York* or his lawful Heirs.

It is decreed that the King should enjoy the Crown during Life.

It is very likely that the Duke of *York* had carried his Views farther than this came to. However he sat contented, because he saw plainly that it would be a very hard Matter to obtain better Terms without coming to open Force. It cannot be denied, that he behaved in this with a Moderation somewhat uncommon on the like Occasions. In his present Circumstances, and according to the Rule generally followed by Parliaments of declaring for the strongest, nothing was more easy for the Duke than to get the Crown awarded to him immediately. He had at his Beck a victorious Army, which at that Time could not be withstood. Besides the Majority of the Members of Parliament were of his Side, and in all Appearance, after having gone so far as to acknowledge his Title was indisputable, they would not have wanted much Sollicitation to take one Step farther and place him on the Throne. It is therefore evident, that if the Parliament did any Thing in Favour of *Henry*, it was because they thought themselves at Liberty to deal thus equitably by him, maugre the Duke's victorious Army

The Duke of York consents to the Decree.

Instances of his Moderation.

my

1460.

*Historians
have been
partial to
him.*

my which might have over-ruled them, if he had been minded to make use of his Advantage. It must likewise be observed, that the Duke of *York* was older than the King, and therefore naturally could not expect to out-live him. Notwithstanding all this, they who have writ the History of these Troubles, have never failed to give an ill Turn to whatever is related of this Prince. It is no difficult Matter to guess at the Reason. As the *House of York* did not sit on the Throne above Twenty-four Years, we have no Historian that wrote in that Interval, and all those that we have are of later Date, and writ since the Restoration of the *House of Lancaster* in the Person of *Henry VII.* This is what must be always remembered in reading the History of this *Civil War.*

*Proces-
sion at
St. Paul's.*

The Day after passing the *Act* I have just mentioned, a *Procession* was made at *St. Paul's*, where the King was present with his Crown on his Head, and attended by the Duke of *York.*

*The Duke is
absolute
Master of
the Govern-
ment.*

Since Matters were thus settled, the King continued the same Man. Though it was easy for him to perceive the great Prejudice the Agreement he had lately made brought to his Family, and particularly to the Prince of *Wales* his Son, he lived quietly under the Servitude he was reduced to, without thinking of Means to set himself free. Satisfied with whatever the Duke of *York* was pleased to suggest to him, he gave himself up wholly to religious Exercises, and left the Publick Affairs to be managed as they thought fit who ruled in his Name. Thus the Duke finding himself absolute Master of the Government and Person of the King, caused him to sign an *Order* requiring the Queen to repair to him. The Duke was very sensible this *Order* would be to no Purpose. But his Aim was to render her Criminal, in refusing to obey the King her Spouse, and to justify thereby whatever he intended to do against her. He thought she had no Remedy left, and in that Belief imagined he had nothing more to do than to find some Pretence to lay an insuperable Obstacle in the way of her Return, in order to get rid of so dangerous an Enemy. But he relied too much on his own good Fortune and the Queen's Weakness.

*The King
orders the
Queen to
repair to
him.*

Weakness. Instead of being discouraged at the ill Posture of the King's and his Family's Affairs, she was already returned to *England* with the Prince of *Wales* her Son, and had drawn together in the *North* an Army of Eighteen Thousand Men. The better to gain the People of those Parts to her Side, she had caused a Report to be spread, that she gave them leave to plunder the Country on the *South* of the *Trent*. In all Appearance, this was the chief Means that helped her to such a Number of Troops.

1460.
She levies
an Army in
the North.

The Duke of *York* had been well informed of the Queen's Attempts to levy an Army, but he did not know she had made so great a Progress; nevertheless he thought he could not be too speedy in opposing the Execution of her Designs. He sat out therefore from *London* with four or five Thousand Men only, leaving Orders with the Earl of *March* his Son, to lead the rest of the Army into *Wales* to refresh the Men, and then come and join him. As he advanced towards the *North*, he received the sad News of the great Success the Queen had had in the raising of Troops. At length being come near *Wakefield* in the County of *York*, he heard the Queen was advancing towards him at the Head of eighteen Thousand Men. Whereupon he resolved to retire to his Castle of *Sandale*, till the Arrival of the Earl of *March*. He knew very well the Queen, who had no Ar- tillery, could not force him in that Castle which was pretty strongly fortified, and he did not question but the Earl his Son would speedily come to his Relief.

The Duke of
York goes
against her
with 5000
Men only.

He retires
into San-
dale-Cas-
tle.

The Queen was heartily vexed to see her Enemy thus sheltered from all Attacks. As she was then vastly superior in Number of Troops, if the Duke would have fought she might have flattered herself with certain Success. But she was not sure that after the Arrival of the Earl of *March*, she should be in the same Circumstances. For this Reason she did all she could to provoke her Enemy, and induce him to come out of his Retreat. As she did not despair of compassing her Ends, she took the Precaution to lay a Body of Troops in Ambush behind a Hill *. Then she appear-
ed

The Queen
provokes
him to
fight.

* She is said to place an Ambush on each Side *Wakefield* Green,
under

1460. ed before the Walls of *Sandale*-Castle, and provoking the Duke all manner of ways, one while threatning him, another while sending him Challenges, and upbraiding him that a Man who aspired to the Crown should suffer himself to be thus braved by a Woman.

*The Duke
resolves to
fight.*

The Duke of *York* had till then acted with a great deal of Prudence and Conduct. During the Wars of *France*, where he had often commanded in Chief, he had shown no less Wisdom than true Valour. But on this Occasion he let his Courage get the better of him, contrary to the Opinion of his Friends, who advised him to despise those vain Reproaches. Probably, his Animosity against the Queen, hurried him as it were in spite of himself to commit a Blunder unpardonable in a General of so established a Reputation. In this Manner at least Historians have represented the Matter. For my Part, if I may be allowed to speak my Opinion, I must confess I see but little probability in this Account. I should rather think that the want of Provisions put him under a Necessity of fighting, in order to avoid the Danger which hung over his Head. Wherefore if he committed a Fault, it was in shutting himself up in a Castle, instead of returning back, or going

*The Battle
of Wake-
field, where
York is
slain.
Decem-
ber.*

to meet his Son, who could easily come and join him. Be this as it will, he marched out of *Sandale*, and drew up his Troops on *Wakefield*-Green, counting that his Courage and Experience would supply the Defects of his Army. He was no sooner drawn up, but he saw himself attacked by the Queen's Troops, who being much more numerous than his, had a great Advantage of him. Whilst he was hard pressed in the Front by Enemies stronger than himself, those that lay in Ambush issued out, and attacked him in the Rear. This unexpected Assault bred such Confusion among his Troops, that in less than half an Hour they were put to flight, and he himself lost his Life, bravely fighting.

*The Earl of
Rutland
killed by
Clifford.*

The young Earl of *Rutland* his second Son not above twelve Years old, flying with his Governour, was overtaken

der the Command of the Lord *Clifford* and Earl of *Wiltshire*. His main Army was led by the Dukes of *Somerset* and *Exeter*.

vertaken by the Lord *Clifford*, who plunged his Dagger into his Breast, notwithstanding the earnest Intreaties of the Governour to spare the young Prince's Life*. Afterwards the same Lord *Clifford* lighting upon the Body of the Duke of *York*, cut off the Head, and crowning it with a Paper-Crown, fixed it on the end of his Lance, and went and presented it to the Queen, who ordered it to be set up on the Walls of *York*.

Thus fell the Duke of *York*, aged about fifty Years*. One may say that never was Prince so near a Throne and not seated in it, and that it lay wholly in his own Power to take Possession, had he been willing to use the Force which he had in his Hands. I shall not take upon me to blame or justify him with regard to his Pretensions. I leave the Reader to judge for himself, upon the Grounds which have been already explained in several Places. Unluckily for this Prince, those that writ the History of *England*, at the Time when the Restoration of the *House of Lancaster* was still fresh, I mean in the Reigns of *Henry VII* and *Henry VIII*, have given an ill Turn to all his Actions. Those that came after them, not content with taking the Facts as they found them related, have likewise copied the Reflections, and even the very Invectives. By so doing they have all unanimously given the Cause for the *House of Lancaster*, instead of leaving their Readers at Liberty to pass an impar-

Remark on the Partiality of Historians to the House of Lancaster.

* He is said to have killed that Day so many with his own Hand, that he was thenceforward called the *Butcher*. His Father *Thomas Lord Clifford* having been slain in the Battle of *St Albans* by the Duke of *York*, this Lord *Clifford* (as *Grafton* says,) swore he would not leave one *Branch* of the *York Line* standing.

* His Corps was first interred at *Pontfract*, but afterwards in the Collegiate-Church of *Fotheringhay*. The Duke of *Somerset* (his chief Opponent) said of him, that if he had not learned to play the King by his Regency in France, he had never forgot to obey as a Subject when he returned to England. By *Cecily* Daughter of *Ralph Nevil* Earl of *Westmoreland*, he had, as some say, Eight Sons, (*Henry*, who died young, *Edward* Earl of *March*, afterwards King *Edward IV*, *Edmund* Earl of *Rutland*, *John*, *William* and *Thomas*, who all dyed young, *George* Duke of *Clarence*, and *Richard* Duke of *Gloucester*, afterwards King *Richard III*.) and four Daughters. *Dugdale*.

1460.

*The Earl
of Salisbu-
ry behead-
ed.*

tial Judgment upon so difficult a Point, the Decision where-
of, should the same Case happen again, would be no less
intricate now than it was then. The Earl of *Salisbury* hav-
ing had the Misfortune to be taken Prisoner in the Battle,
was carried, notwithstanding his Wounds, to *Pontfract*,
where he lost his Head on the Scaffold *. The Queen or-
dered it to be set up by the Duke of *York's*.

*The Earl
of March
resolves to
maintain
the Quar-
rel.*

Such was the Issue of this Battle, which was fought on
the last Day of *December*, hard by *Wakefield* *, from
whence it took its Name. This Battle looked as if it
would have firmly restored the Affairs of the King and
Queen, and yet it served only to hasten their Destruction,
and give the *House of York* a speedier Ascent to the Throne.
The Earl of *March* having had notice of the Defeat and
Death of the Duke his Father, was not at all dismayed at
the News. On the contrary, he resolved to maintain the
Quarrel, let the Consequence be what it would, and lose
his Life or go through with the Designs of the deceased.
After what had passed, there was no middle Way left, one
of the two *Houses* must necessarily be established upon the
Ruins of the other. The Earl of *March* was then in *Wales*,
ready to march to the Assistance of the Duke his Father.
His Army was three and twenty Thousand strong, besides
what he had left at *London* under the Command of the Earl
of *Warwick*, for the Defense of the Metropolis. Thus find-
ing

* His Body with that of *Alice* his Wife, sole Daughter and Heir to
Thomas Montacute Earl of *Salisbury*, and his Son *Thomas* (slain in the
Battle) were in 2 Ed. 4. Feb. 15. buried at *Bisham* Abbey in *Berkshire*.
He had Issue four Sons (*Richard* Earl of *Warwick*, *John* Marquiss of
Montague, Sir *Thomas*: *George* Bishop of *Exeter*, Chancellor of *Eng-
land*, and then Archbishop of *York*.) and five Daughters. *Dugdale*.

* A Town in the *West-Riding* of *Yorkshire*, famous for its Cloath
Trade, Largeness, neat Buildings, Markets; and for the Bridge upon
which King *Edward IV* built a very neat Chapel in Memory of those
that were cut off in this Battle. The carved Work of Stone upon
the Chapel was very beautiful, but is now much defaced. On the
Right-Hand of the Road from *Wakefield* to *Sandal* there is a square
Plot of Ground hedged in from a Close, whereon (before the *Civil
War* between King *Charles* and the Parliament) stood a Cross of
Stone, where the Duke of *York* was slain. The Owners are obliged
by *Tenure* to keep up this Hedge. *Camb.*

ing himself strong enough to go in quest of the Queen, he wished for nothing so ardently as to have an Opportunity to revenge the Death of his Father.

1460.

Whilst the Earl of *March* was taking this Resolution, the Queen advanced towards *London*, with design to make sure of that great City, which alone was able to influence the Fortune of either Party. But hearing upon the Road that the Earl of *March* began to move, she detached *Jasper Tudor* Earl of *Pembroke* to go against this new Enemy, whom she did not imagine to be so strong as he was. The Earl of *March* being informed that the Queen was marching towards *London*, had already altered his Course, and instead of going to meet her, taken likewise the Road to *London*, to try to be before-hand with her. But having Intelligence of the Detachment which was coming against him, he thought not fit to go between the two Armies of his Enemies, which he must have done if he had kept on his Rout. Wherefore coming to a sudden Resolution, he turned back to go and meet the Earl of *Pembroke*. He met him at *Mortimer's Cross* in *Herefordshire*; and as he was much superior in Numbers, defeated him with ease, and slew Two Thousand Eight Hundred of his Men. The Earl of *Pembroke* had the good Fortune to escape. But *Owen Tudor* his Father according to some, or more probably his younger Brother *, being taken Prisoner, was beheaded with several others, in Revenge of the Earl of *Salisbury*.

The Queen marches towards London, and sends Pembroke against the Earl of March.

Pembroke is defeated.

Owen Tudor is beheaded.

The News of this Defeat which reached the Queen on the Road, prevented her not from continuing her March towards *London*. She verily believed, that by appearing at the Gates of the City with an Army that had vanquished the Duke of *York*, she should put the Inhabitants in such a Fright, that they would of their own accord drive out the Earl of *Warwick*. The Truth is, the Earl himself seemed to be of the same mind, since he chose rather to go out and fight the Queen than stay in *London*: Which doubtless he would not have done, had he been sure of the City. The Queen being come to *St. Albans*, received certain Advice

The Queen keeps on her march to London.

The Earl of Warwick goes out to fight her.

* *Owen Tudor* the Son is said by most of our Historians to take the Religious Habit at *Westminster*.

1461. that the Earl of *Warwick* was marching towards her with his Army, reinforced with a Body of the *Train-Bands* of *London*, and bringing the King along with him. The Queen's Army was made up of *Northern Troops* *, who committed such prodigious Ravages, that it was one of the chief Reasons why the *Londoners* chose to join the Earl of *Warwick*. If these Troops had entered the City, their All would have been in danger from such Guests.

He is de-
feated at
Bernard's
Heath.
Feb. 17.

The Queen
freed the
King.

Her Troops
plundered
St. Albans.

She de-
mands Pro-
visions of
the Mayor
of London.
The Mob
oppose it.

The two Armies meeting near *St. Albans* on *Bernard's-Heath*, began a Fight, which at first was very fierce on both Sides. But *Lovelace*, who commanded one of the Wings of *Warwick's* Army, not having charged soon enough, either through Treachery or for some other Reason, Victory declared for the Queen, and the Vanquished lost Two Thousand Eight Hundred Men. She had at the same Time the Satisfaction to free the King her Spouse, whom the Earl of *Warwick* durst not venture to leave at *London*. She used her Victory with the Barbarity too common in *Civil Wars*, beheading several Persons of Distinction, particularly the Lord *Bonville* *1 and Sir *Thomas Kiriell*, though the King had granted them their Lives. As her Troops had voluntarily engaged in her Service without her having wherewithal to pay them, she could not hinder them after the Victory from plundering the Town of *St. Albans*. These *Northern Soldiers* affirmed, that they had not taken up Arms but upon Promise given them that they should have the Plunder of the Country lying *South* of the *Trent*. This Pretension of theirs inspired the Inhabitants of *London* and the Country round, with a Terror which proved very prejudicial to the Queen. Provisions being grown exceeding scarce in her Army, by reason of the great Licentiousness of her Troops, she sent to the Mayor of *London* for a Supply, who not daring to deny her at such a Juncture, ordered several Carts to be loaded. But just as they were going out at the Gate the Mob stopped them, and

* *Welsh, Scotch and Irish*, besides *English*.

*1 He was one of those who had the Custody of the King after he was taken at *St. Albans*, and had stayed with him at his Request.

and told the *Mayor* that they would not suffer Provisions to be sent to an Army which was come on purpose to plunder the Country. The *Mayor* not being able to help this Disorder, made his Excuse to the Queen, and put her in hopes that he would let her into the City as soon as the People were somewhat appeased. 1461.

Whilst the Queen was taken up at St. *Albans* with treating with the *Mayor* of *London*, the Earl of *March* was advancing with all the Speed possible, that he might inspire the *Londoners* with the Resolution to keep their Gates shut against the Queen, by the Consideration of his approaching Assistance. And indeed the News of his March did not a little contribute to the spinning out the Negotiation between the Queen and the *Mayor*, which proved the Ruin of her Affairs. As soon as she heard that the Earl of *March* was approaching, and had strengthened his Army with the Remains of the Earl of *Warwick's*, she chose to retire into the *North*. Besides, that she was no Match for her Enemy, she justly dreaded she should be refused admittance into *London* in case she advanced that way, and obliged to join Battle at the Gates of the City, too well inclined to countenance her Enemy. The Earl of *March* approaches *London*.

The Earl of *March* overjoyed that the Queen voluntarily yielded him the Metropolis, entered as it were in Triumph in the Beginning of *March*. He was received with the Acclamations of the Citizens, who, several Years since, had as good as declared against the Court. The Caution wherewith the late Duke of *York* had thought fit to proceed, had been so much to his Prejudice, that the Friends of the Earl his Son judged it absolutely necessary to strike a bold Stroke, and place him at once in the Throne. After sundry Consultations upon the Matter, they resolved not to run the Hazard of the Delays of a Parliament; but to proceed to an extraordinary Election, first by the *People*, and then by the *Nobles*. They were of Opinion that this Method could be justified by the *Act* of Parliament, which ratified the Convention made between the King and Duke of *York*, and that it was unnecessary to stay for a fresh Confirmation. The Queen retires towards the *North*. The Earl enters *London*. His Friends resolve to place him on the Throne.

Pursuant

1461.
Extraordi-
nary Elec-
tion of the
Earl of
March.

Pursuant to this Resolution, the Earl of *Warwick* drew up his Army in *St. John's Fields*, and having caused the People who were come to the Sight to be cast into a Ring, he stood in the midst, and read aloud the Agreement between the King and Duke of *York*, with the *Act* of Parliament whereby it was ratified. Which done, he told the People that it was notorious that *Henry* had violated this Agreement, and by that had forfeited, according to the *Act* of Parliament, his Right to the Crown. But after all, I do not see upon what ground he could charge the King with what the Queen had done, since he was all the while as it were a Prisoner at *London*: Neither was he any more his own Master since he was with the Queen. Be that as it will, the Earl of *Warwick* raising his Voice, asked the People who stood round him whether they would have *Henry of Lancaster* for King? The whole Multitude crying, *No, No*: He demanded whether according to the Agreement just read to them, they would have *Edward*, Son of the late Duke of *York*, for Sovereign? To which all the People replied with Acclamations which showed their Consent.

Assembly of
the chief
Men who
adjudged
him the
Crown.

This first Step being made, and the Peoples Mind being, as was pretended, sufficiently known, a great Council was called of all the Bishops, Lords, Gentlemen and Magistrates in and about *London*. *Edward* being present in this Assembly, set forth his Title to the Crown, as well by Birthright as by the agreement above-mentioned, and demanded that it might be awarded him. A Man must have been very hardy to dispute his Pretension at such a Juncture. And therefore with one Consent the Assembly declared that *Henry of Lancaster* had forfeited his Right of enjoying the Crown during his Life, by the Breach of the solemn Agreement made with the Duke of *York*, and ratified by the Parliament; and that it was devolved to *Edward*, eldest Son of the Duke of *York*. Upon this Declaration, the Crown was offered the Duke, who accepted it, modestly confessing his Insufficiency, and adding, that although his Youth and small Experience made him fearful of taking upon him so weighty a Charge, he would however use his utmost Endeavour to render his People happy with God's help.

help. On the Morrow he went in *Proceſſion* to *St. Pauls*, where he ſat in the King's Seat, with the Scepter of *St. Edward* in his Hand *. The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* having asked the People whether they would have *Edward* Earl of *March* for King; the People answered with loud Acclamations. Then the King took Homage of the Lords that were preſent. The Ceremony concluding with ſinging *Te Deum*. *Edward* was conducted with great Solemnity to the Biſhop's Palace, where *Henry* was wont to lodge, when he was within the Walls of the City. Next Day being the 5th of *March*, he was proclaimed at *London* and the Country round, by the Name of *Edward IV.* 1461.

Thus ended the Reign of *Henry VI.* which had laſted Thirty-eight Years and a Half, without his ever concerning himſelf with the Adminiſtration of the Publick Affairs. *End of Henry's Reign.* It does not even appear that he troubled his Head much about Events, which however were, for the moſt Part ſuch as would affect a Prince that had been of another Temper. *His Character.* He was fitter for a private Life than for a Crown. His great and only Defect was a kind of natural Imbecility, which rendered him incapable to govern by himſelf. Ever ruled by thoſe who managed the Affairs in his Name. His Capacity reached not ſo far as to ſee the Conſequences of the Counſels given him, which to him ſeemed always good. In this he widely differed from the King his Father, whoſe Genius was always ſuperior to that of his *Ministers*. As to the reſt, he was chaſte, temperate, extremely religious, abhorring Cruelty and Injuſtice. It was theſe Virtues which have ſerved for Foundation to the Praises beſtowed on him by ſeveral Hiſtorians, and which have made ſome look upon him as a true *Saint*. The Truth is, theſe Virtues would have rendered him an accompliſhed Prince, had they been attended with the Qualifications of a Sovereign. But being alone, they ſerved only to make him an honeſt Man,

* He went firſt to *St. Pauls*, from whence he was conveyed in State to *Weſtmiſter-Hall*, where he ſat in the King's Seat, and took Homage. Then he went in *Proceſſion* to the *Abby*. and was placed in the Choir as King, whiſt *Te Deum* was ſung. That done, he returned by Water to *St. Pauls*, and lodged in the Biſhop's Palace.

1461.

Man, and at the same time a very indifferent King, not to say worse. The Weakness of his Understanding rendered him contemptible to his Subjects: But the Innocency of his Life hindered their Contempt from ever turning into Hatred.

*Causes of
the Decay
of the Eng-
lish Affairs
in Henry
VIth's
Reign.*

During the first Years of his Reign his Affairs were in a prosperous State, because they were managed by the Dukes of *Bedford* and *Gloucester* his Uncles, Princes of very able Heads, and who had his Interest at Heart. And if ever in their Life-time Affairs began to fall to decay, one may say it was not so much by their Fault, as by some unforeseen Accidents which all the Prudence in the World could not have prevented. After the Death of the Duke of *Bedford*, *Henry* suffered himself to be guided by the Cardinal of *Winchester* and the Duke of *Suffolk*, who, acting not from the same Motives, and minding only their own Affairs, compleated his Ruin. Afterwards Queen *Margaret* by her uncommon Abilities, might have put his Affairs again in a flourishing Condition. But the Honour of the King, and Welfare of the Nation, were what was least in her Thoughts. Her sole View was to engross all the Power, and make use of the King's Name to justify her Passions. The *Ministers* she employed were all of the same Character. It is not therefore at all strange that the King's Affairs should thus be hurried to Destruction. The Death of the Duke of *Gloucester* will be an indelible Stain in *Margaret's* Reputation, and unhappily this Crime returned but too hastily upon the King's own Head, since he had not the Resolution to hinder it or punish its Authors. Accordingly it was manifest that *Heaven* took publick Vengeance of this Murder, by the *Civil War* which ensued, and which brought on the Ruin of the King, the Queen, the Prince their Son, and the whole *House of Lancaster*.

Henry VI. was Thirty-nine Years and about a Quarter old when he was stript of a Crown which he had wore from almost his very Birth *. He still lived long enough to be
the

* In the first Parliament of his Reign the Queen Mother came and sat among the Lords with the young King in her Lap.

the Sport of Fortune, as we shall see in the following Reign. *Edward* his Son, Prince of *Wales*, was in his Ninth Year at the time of this *Catastrophe* *.

1461.

* The most remarkable Things during this Reign were these: The Art of Printing being found out at *Mentz* in *Germany* by *John Guttenberghen*, was brought into *England* by *William Caxton* of *London* Merchant, who first practised the same in the Abbey of *Westminster* in 1471.

In the 23d Year of this Reign it was enacted in Parliament, That when *Wheat* was sold for six Shillings and Eight-pence the *Quarter*, *Rye* for four Shillings, and *Barley* for three Shilling, it should be lawful to export the said Kinds of Corn into foreign Parts without Licence.

The King himself founded *King's College* in *Cambridge* (afterwards enlarged by *Henry VII.* for a *Provost*, 70 *Fellows* and *Scholars*, &c.) and likewise *Eaton College* by *Windjor*, for a *Provost*, 8 *Fellows*, a *Choir*, and 60 *Scholars*. *Queen Margaret* began *Queen's College* in *Cambridge*, which was finished by *Edward IV's* Queen her Enemy. *Archbishop Kemp* built the *Divinity School* at *Oxford*, as it now stands, and *St. Paul's Cross*. *William Eastfield* Mayor of *London*, built at his own Charge the Water-Conduit in *Fleet-street*; and *John Wells* Mayor of *London*, the Conduit commonly called the *Standard* in *Cheap*.

Edward the Third is justly reckoned the First of our Monarchs that coined Gold, and this in so beautiful a Manner, that his *Rose Noble* (forty five out of a Pound of Gold) has merited the Esteem of a *Medal*. In *Henry IV's* Reign the *Rose Nobles* changed their Name and Value, being now called *Rials*, *Half-Rials*, and *Quarter-Rials*, and went at Ten Shillings, Five Shillings, and Two and Six-pence. On one Side he is crowned with an Arched Crown seated on a Throne, with a Scepter in his Right-Hand, and a *Globe* in his Left, inscribed, *Henricus Dei Gra. Rex. Angl. & Fran. Dus. Hib.* On the Reverse, the Arms of *France* and *England* quartered, and *Iesus autem transiens*, &c. The Silver Money were *Groats*, *Pence*. *Half-pence* and *Mails* or *Farthings*. There were likewise *Gold Farthings*. It is agreed that his Money first carried the *Arched* or *Imperial* Crown.

The End of the Reign of HENRY VI.



A
DISSERTATION
 ON THE
MAID of Orleans.



THE Actions of *JOAN of ARC*, commonly called the *Maid of Orleans*, made formerly a great Noise in the World. We find them related in the Histories of *France* and *England*, with Circumstances which favour all of the *Marvellous*. Most of the Writers upon this Subject have scarce left their Readers the Liberty of reasoning and judging; but have formally decided the Matter; some by affirming that *Joan of Arc* was inspired by God; others, that she was an Instrument of the Devil. However they all agree in making it believed that what she did could not be performed without a supernatural Assistance. In the mean Time impartial and unprejudiced Readers find great Objections against both these Opinions. As they do not see how Religion can be any way concerned in the Actions of the *Maid of Orleans*, they think it equally hard to believe that God should be pleased either to raise her up in a supernatural manner in Defense of *Charles VII*, or give

give the Devil an extraordinary Power to make her his Instrument to ruin the Affairs of the *English* in *France*. Hence several have been induced to embrace a third Opinion, namely, that the pretended Inspiration of *Joan of Arc*, was nothing but a Contrivance which the Inventors imagined would produce the Effect it did indeed produce. This Diversity of Opinions, joined to the *Wonders* one beholds in the Actions of a poor Country Girl, naturally raises a Curiosity to know the Truth. Wherefore I am persuaded that it will not be unacceptable fairly to examine this Matter, with the sole view of coming as near the Truth as possible. As I design to be as brief as the Thing will allow, I shall set aside the *Learning* which such a Subject would admit of, and content my self with relating the *Facts* and *Testimonies* which may serve to set this Business in a clear Light, and with making some Remarks upon the whole. They who are impatient to go on with the History of *England*, may safely omit reading this *Dissertation*, without fear of losing any Thing absolutely necessary to be known.

In the first Place it must be observed, that we have but one single cotemporary Author, who has given an Account of the *Maid of Orleans*. All that writ after him have added something to what he relates, in order to embellish their History. *Monstrelet* is the Author I mean. He was one of the Retinue of *Philip the Good*, Duke of *Burgundy* and had himself seen this Girl. But he is exceedingly upon the Reserve in what he says of her. He never gives his Opinion of her, and the Reason of his behaving thus is very evident. *Joan* having made her Appearance whilst the Duke of *Burgundy* was in Alliance with *England*. *Monstrelet* with all of that Party, did not believe her inspired. But as he writ not his *Chronicle* till after the Duke was reconciled to King *Charles*, he thought not proper to combat in his Writings the general Opinion of the *French*, who were then his Master's Friends. On the other Hand, as in all Appearance in changing Sides, he had not changed his Opinion of *Joan*, he took care to say nothing which might make it thought he lay under the same Prejudice with the

rest of the *Frenchmen*. It seems to me therefore that we may take *Monstrelet* for a Guide, who of whatever Opinion he was, has said nothing to render him suspected. The Truth is, he never says either that *Joan* was, or was not inspired.

He has inserted in his *Chronicle* a Letter written in the Name of *Henry VI* to the Duke of *Burgundy*, to acquaint him with what had passed at the Tryal and Condemnation of the *Maid of Orleans*. This Letter might be justly suspected of Partiality, if the Facts mentioned therein did not, for the most Part agree with the *Records* of the Tryal which I shall speak of presently. Wherefore this Letter is a farther Means to help us to discover the Truth.

We have moreover a third Means which is both the amplest and most considerable, namely, *Joan's Examination and Answers*, of which the famous *Stephen Pasquier* has given us the Particulars. *Pasquier* says, he had the original Tryal of the *Maid of Orleans* four whole Years in his Hands, and that what he has related was faithfully extracted thence. But we must carefully distinguish what *Pasquier* says as of himself from the *Records* of the Tryal. He was so strongly prejudiced in favour of *Joan*, that he could not help being in a Rage with those of his Countrymen who did not believe her inspired. He says they showed themselves by that, worse than the *English*, and were extremely injurious to the Honour of *France*. Wherefore, considering only his private Opinion, he may be said to have justly rendered himself suspected to one of the Parties. But the Tryal it self is an original Piece beyond all Suspicion, since we find there Word for Word, the *Maid of Orleans's* own Answers to the Articles she was interrogated upon.

Monstrelet's Chronicle, the King of *England's* Letter to the Duke of *Burgundy*, and the Tryal of the *Maid of Orleans*, are the three Evidences which must be examined in order to be able to pass a true Judgment in this Affair. As to Facts related in the Histories of *France* and *England*, which are not drawn from these three Fountains, I do not think they ought to be much regarded. It is evident that
the

the Historians have copied, without any previous Examination, those that writ before them, and that several have made it their business to embellish their Story, by relating more *Wonders* than there really were. If we may believe some of them, *Joan* worked *Miracles*, foretold *future Events*, knew *Secrets* which no Body but the King alone was conscious of; her Heart was found whole and entire amongst the Ashes after she was burnt; and out of the Flames which consumed her Body, was seen to fly a white Dove, the Emblem of her Chastity. According to these Historians, *Joan* had the Command of the *Convoy* which entered *Orleans*, and led the Besieged to the Assault of the *English* Redoubts. By her sole Advice the Battle of *Patay* was fought, and to her Valour the *French* were indebted for their Victory. In a word, they pretend that *Joan* did All, and leave King *Charles's* Generals only the Honour of following her, and fighting under her Banners. In all this they doubtless go beyond the Truth. The surest Way is to keep to the three Authorities abovementioned, which it will be necessary to examine. I shall begin with *Monstrelet*, and cite some Passages of his *Chronicle*, essential to the Point in Hand, for it would be too tedious to copy all he has said concerning the *Maid*.

“ Now in the Year abovesaid, came to the King *Monstrelet*
 “ at *Chinon* where he resided, a young Damsel about 20
 “ Years old (a), called *Joan*, cloathed and dressed like a
 “ Man. She was born in the Parts between *Lorraine* and
 “ *Burgundy*, at a Place called *Droymy* (b), not far from
 “ *Vauconleurs*. The which *Joan* was a good while a Ser-
 “ vant in an Inn, and had the Courage to ride the Horses
 “ to Water, and likewise to perform other Feats which
 “ young Girls are not wont to do. And being turned a-
 “ way, she was sent to the King by a certain Knight called
 “ Sir *Robert de Bandricourt*, Captain under the King, of
 “ *Vauconleurs*, who furnished her with Horses, and four
 “ or

(a) She was then 27 Years of Age; for in her Examination in the Year 1431, she declared she was 29 Years old, consequently when she came to the King in 1429, she was 27 Years of Age.

(b) It should be read *Dompres*.

“ or five Attendants. She stiled herself *Pucelle* [or *Vir-*
 “ *gin*,] inspired with *Divine Grace*, and said she was sent
 “ to the King to put him in Possession of his Kingdom,
 “ of which he was wrongfully deprived. Her Condition
 “ was but mean. She was about two Months in the King’s
 “ Palace, whom she several Times admonished to let her have
 “ Men and Aid, and she would repulse his Enemies, and
 “ exalt his Dominion. During which Time the King and
 “ his Council gave no great Credit to whatever she could
 “ say, but took her for a Mad-woman, and one out of her
 “ Wits. For to so great Princes and other Noblemen, such
 “ or the like Words are very doubtful and dangerous, as
 “ well on Account of the Wrath of our Lord chiefly, as
 “ of the *Blasphemy* [or Slander] which one might incur
 “ from the Talk of the World. All her Words were in
 “ the Name of God; whereby the greatest Part of those
 “ that saw and heard her speak were strongly perswaded
 “ that she was inspired by God, as she herself affirmed.
 “ She was several Times examined by *notable Clerks* and o-
 “ ther learned Men of great Authority, that her Intention
 “ might be more fully known. But she always kept to her
 “ Point, saying, if the King would be pleased to believe
 “ her, she would restore him to his Dominions. — When
 “ she came before the King, there were present the Duke
 “ of *Alençon* the King’s Marshal, and several Generals. For
 “ the King had held a Council about the Affair of the Siege
 “ of *Orleans*, and from thence went to *Poitiers*, and this
 “ same *Maid* with him. Shortly after it was ordered that
 “ the *Marshal* should carry Provisions and other Necessaries
 “ to *Orleans* by Force. *Joan* had a Mind to go along with
 “ him, and requested that she might have a Suit of Armour
 “ and Man’s Cloaths, which she was furnished with.
 “ Presently after she set up her Standard and went to *Blois*,
 “ where the Rendezvous was, and from thence to *Orleans*
 “ with the rest. She was always compleatly armed. In
 “ this Expedition many came and listed under her. And
 “ when she was come to *Orleans*, she was made very wel-
 “ come, and abundance of People were overjoyed at her
 “ coming”.

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This is all *Monstrelet* says of *Joan of Arc* till her Entry into *Orleans*. Hence it may be observed, that it was not she that commanded the *Convoy*, but only that she attended the *Marshal* with some who had lifted under her. As to the storming of the Redoubts, it seems at first Sight from what he says of it, that *Joan* commanded in all the Sallies. But afterwards he says: “ And notwithstanding that in these Three Assaults, the said *Joan* is reported by common Fame to have had the chief Command, yet all or the most Part of the noble Knights and Captains were in them, who during the Siege, had been in the City of *Orleans*, and behaved each for his Part valiantly, as Warriors ought to do on such Occasions”. He does not fail however to commend her Valour very highly in several Places. For Instance, speaking of the March of the French Army after the raising of the Siege of *Orleans*, he says: “ *Joan* was ever in the Front before her Standard. And in all the Marches about, her Fame at once was spread, as if there had been no other Warrior but her self”.

After he had described the Battle of *Patay*, he adds these Words; “ And especially *Joan* acquired on such Occasions so great Praise and Reputation, that all People imagined the King's Enemies would be no longer able to stand against her, and that shortly by her Means the King would be restored and re-established in his whole Kingdom”.

In fine, not to cite too many Passages of this Author, it will suffice to observe in a Word, that whenever he mentions the Inspiration of the *Maid of Orleans*, he never tells us what he himself thinks of the Matter, but always says, that she called her self inspired. He is so very cautious in this Point, that in speaking of what the Duke of *Burgundy* said to her, when he went to see her after she was taken, he pretends not to remember it, though he was himself an Ear-witness. His Words are these: “ The Duke went to see her at the Place where she was lodged, and gave her rough Language, which I have forgot, though I was present”. It is easy to see that the Duke's rough Words were Reproaches for having seduced the People, and Menaces

naces upon that Score. But *Monstrelet* chuses rather to be silent than say any thing *pro* or *con*.

He relates moreover, that a few Days before *Joan* threw herself into *Compiegne*, she had fought a Captain of the Duke of *Burgundy's* called *Franquet d' Arras*, and having taken him Prisoner, cut off his Head. But he does not say, whether justly or not, contenting himself with relating the Fact, without giving his Thoughts of it.

When he comes at last to her Condemnation, he expresses himself in such a Manner, that he does not discover his own Sentiments of the Matter. He only transcribes the King of *England's* Letter to the Duke of *Burgundy* about that Affair. As that Letter is an Original which may help to find out the Truth, it will be proper to insert it at length.

Most Dear and Beloved U N C L E,

“ T H E fervent Affection which we are sensible you
“ have, as a true Catholick, for our Holy Mo-
“ ther the Church, and for the Exaltation of our Faith,
“ justly exhorts and admonishes us to notify to you in
“ writing, what, to the Honour of our said Holy Mo-
“ ther the Church, to the Strengthening of our Faith, and
“ to the Extirpation of pestiferous Errors, has been lately
“ in this our City of *Roan* solemnly transacted.

“ It is well known almost every where by common Re-
“ port, how the Woman who called herself *Joan the Vir-*
“ *gin* went about two Years and upwards, contrary to the
“ divine Law, and the Condition of her Sex, dressed in
“ Man's Clothes, a Thing abominable in the Sight of God,
“ and in such Garb was brought to our mortal Enemy and
“ yours, to whom and to those of his Party, Churchmen,
“ Nobles and Commonalty, she frequently gave to un-
“ derstand that she was sent from God, presumptuously
“ boasting that she had personally and visibly conversed
“ with St. *Michael*, and great Numbers of Angels and
“ Saints of Paradise, as St. *Catharine* and St. *Margaret*:
“ By which Forgery, and the Hopes she gave of future
“ Victories, turned the Hearts of many Men and Women
“ from the Truth, to Fables and Lies. She likewise put

“ on

“ on Arms appointed for Knights and 'Squires, and set up
“ a Standard. Moreover, she demanded with great Bold-
“ ness and Confidence to bear the most excellent *Arms* of
“ *France*, which she obtained in part, and bore in several
“ Incurfions and Assaults, as did her Brothers also, accord-
“ ing to Report: Namely, *Azure*, Two Flower-de-Lu-
“ ces, *Or*, and a Sword with the Point upwards, and on it
“ a Crown. In this Posture she took the Field, and led
“ Men at Arms and Archers in Bands and great Compa-
“ nies, to commit and exercise inhuman Cruelties, by
“ shedding human Blood, by raising Seditions and Com-
“ motions among the People, carrying them to Perjury,
“ Rebellion, Superstition, and false Opinions; by disturb-
“ ing all true Peace, and kindling mortal Wars; by suf-
“ fering herself to be honoured and revered as a *Saint*;
“ and by working other damnable Deeds, too tedious to
“ relate, which however were well known in several Places,
“ and at which almost all Christendom were offended. But
“ the Providence of God having taken Pity on his faith-
“ ful People, and been pleased not to let them remain long
“ in Danger, nor to continue in vain, pernicious, and no-
“ vel Opinions, which they had rashly embraced, has per-
“ mitted through his great Goodness and Mercy that the
“ said Woman should be taken in your Army at the Siege
“ you carried on for us before *Compiègne*, and put by your
“ good Means into our Power. And because we were im-
“ mediately required by the Bishop of the *Diocese* wherein
“ she was taken, to deliver over to him as to her ordinary
“ Ecclesiastical Judge, the said *Joan* branded with the
“ Crime of High-Treason against the Divine Majesty:
“ We, as well out of Reverence to our Holy Mother the
“ Church, whose Orders we justly prefer to our own Will
“ and Pleasure, as also for the Honour and Exaltation of
“ our Holy Faith, put into his Hands the said *Joan* to be
“ brought to her Tryal, without suffering our secular
“ Judges to take Vengeance upon her, as we might lawfully
“ have done, considering the great Damages and Mis-
“ chiefs, the horrible Murders, and detestable Cruelties,
“ with innumerable other Crimes she had committed against

“ Us and our dutiful loyal People. The said Bishop
 “ joined with him the Vicar of the Inquisition of Errors
 “ and Heresies; and having called in the Assistance of a
 “ great and notable Number of solemn *Masters*, and Doc-
 “ tors in Divinity and Civil Law, began with great So-
 “ lemnity and due Gravity the Tryal of the said *Joan*.
 “ And after he and the said Inquisitor, Judges in the Cause,
 “ had for several Days interrogated the said *Joan*, they or-
 “ dered her Confessions and Assertions to be maturely exa-
 “ mined by the said *Masters* and *Doctors*, and in general by
 “ all the *Faculties* of our most dear and beloved Daughter
 “ the University of *Paris*, before whom the said Confes-
 “ sions and Assertions were laid. By the Opinion and De-
 “ termination of whom, the said Judges found *Joan*
 “ guilty of *Superstition*, *Witchcraft*, *Blasphemy against*
 “ *God and his Saints*, *Schism*, and of erring greatly in the
 “ *Faith of Jesus Christ*. And in order to restore and
 “ bring her back to the Union and Communion of our
 “ said Holy Mother the Church, to cleanse her from her
 “ horrible and pernicious Crimes and Wickedness, and to
 “ keep and preserve her Soul from eternal Damnation, she
 “ was frequently and for a long while together very chari-
 “ tably and calmly admonished, that she would reject and
 “ cast away all her Errors; and would likewise humbly re-
 “ turn to the Way and Paths of Truth, or that otherwise
 “ she would greatly endanger both her Soul and Body.
 “ But the most pernicious and divided Spirit of Pride
 “ and outrageous Presumption, which is always endeavou-
 “ ring to destroy the Union and Safety of Christians, pos-
 “ sessed and held so fast bound the Mind of *Joan*, that
 “ notwithstanding all the holy Doctrine or Counsel, or
 “ other mild Exhortation which was administered to her, her
 “ hardened and obstinate Heart would not be humbled or
 “ mollified. She still boasted, that every thing she had
 “ done was performed by the Command of God, and the
 “ said holy Virgins who had visibly appeared to her. And
 “ what is worse, she would recognize no Judge on Earth,
 “ except God alone and the Saints in Paradise, casting off
 “ and rejecting the Judgment of our holy Father the Pope,
 “ and

“ and of a General Council, and the Universal Church Mi-
 “ litant. Whereupon her said Ecclesiastical Judges seeing
 “ her keep so long and so obstinately to her Resolution and
 “ Purpose, ordered her to be conducted to the Church, be-
 “ fore the Clergy and People there assembled in great Mul-
 “ titudes; in the Presence of whom her wicked Purposes
 “ were set forth, exposed and declared solemnly and publick-
 “ ly by a notable Doctor in Divinity, to the Exaltation of
 “ our Faith, the Extirpation of Errors, the Edification
 “ and Amendment of Christian People. After which,
 “ she was charitably admonished to return to the Union
 “ of Holy Church, and reform her Faults and Errors,
 “ wherein she was hardened. And therefore the said
 “ Judges proceeded to pronounce upon her the usual and
 “ customary Sentence in such Cases. But before the Sen-
 “ tence was fully pronounced, she began in appearance to
 “ cast off her Resolution, crying out, she would return
 “ to Holy Church. The which was readily and gladly
 “ heard by the said Judges and Clergy, who kindly re-
 “ ceived her, hoping by that Means her Soul and Body
 “ would be saved from Destruction and Torment. Then
 “ she submitted to the Ordinance of Holy Church, abju-
 “ red with her own Mouth her Errors and detestable
 “ Crimes, and made a publick Recantation, signing the
 “ Instrument with her own Hand. And thus our compas-
 “ sionate Mother Holy Church rejoycing over this repent-
 “ ing Sinner, glad to find and restore this strayed and lost
 “ Sheep to the rest of the Fold, condemned the said *Joan*
 “ to do Penance in Prison. But hardly was she there, be-
 “ fore the Fire of her Pride, which seemed to be extinguish-
 “ ed, burst out afresh into pestiferous Flames by the Sug-
 “ gestions of *the Enemy*. And presently the said unfortunate
 “ *Joan* relapsed into her former Errors and Follies, which
 “ she had abjured and recanted in the Manner aforesaid.

“ For which Reason, according as it is decreed by the
 “ Church, she was again publicly declaimed against, to
 “ the End she might not hereafter infect the rest of the
 “ Members of Christ. And as she was relapsed into the
 “ wretched Crimes and Faults she had been accustomed to,

“ she was delivered over to the secular Arm, and condemn-
 “ ed to be burnt. Perceiving her End was at Hand, she
 “ plainly owned and confessed that the Spirits which she
 “ said appeared to her several Times, were evil and lying
 “ Spirits, and that the Promises they had frequently made
 “ to free her, were false. So she acknowledged she had
 “ been deceived and mocked by the said Spirits, and pur-
 “ suant to her Sentence, she was carried bound to the old
 “ Market Place in *Roan*, and there publickly burnt in the
 “ Sight of all the People.

Before we come to her Tryal, it will not be amiss to see
 a Letter which she is said to have writ to the King of *Eng-
 land* and his Generals, before the Siege of *Orleans* was
 raised. Here it is, just as *John de Serres* a *French* Histo-
 rian has given it us.

“ King of *England*, do Justice to the King of Heaven,
 “ in his Royal Blood. Restore to the *Virgin* the Keys of
 “ all the good Cities you have forced. She is come from
 “ God to claim the Blood Royal, and is ready to make
 “ Peace, if you are willing to do Justice, and return what
 “ you have taken away, O King of *England*; but in Case
 “ you will not, I am Chief of the War. In what Place
 “ soever I light on your People in *France*, I will make them
 “ depart whether they will or no. If they will submit, I
 “ will take them to Mercy. The *Virgin* comes from the
 “ King of Heaven, to drive you out of *France*. If you
 “ will not obey, she will raise such a Combustion as the
 “ like has not been in *France* this Thousand Years. And
 “ be assured that the King of Heaven will send to her and
 “ her good Men at Arms stronger Forces than you can have.
 “ Go in God's Name into your own Country. Persist
 “ not obstinately in your Opinion; for you shall not hold
 “ *France* of the King of Heaven, Son of the Holy *Mary*.
 “ But King *Charles* the Right Heir shall hold it, to whom
 “ God has given it, and who shall enter *Paris* with a noble
 “ Train. You, *William Poulllet* Earl of *Suffolk*, *John* Lord
 “ *Talbot*, *Thomas* Lord *Scales*, Lieutenants of the Duke of
 “ *Bedford*, and you Duke of *Bedford*, styling yourself Regent

“ of

“ of *France*, spare innocent Blood. Leave *Orleans* at Liberty. If you do not Justice to those you have injured, the *French* will perform the noblest Exploit that was ever done in Christendom. Hear these Tidings from God and the Virgin. ”

This Letter, writ in a *Prophetick* Style, by a Girl who pretended to be sent from God, and appears so certain of the Future, ought to contain nothing but what should be found to be exactly true afterwards. And yet we see in it predictions which never came to pass. For Instance, it is not true that she made so much as one single *Englishman* leave *France*. She affirms likewise, that she will make so great a Combustion or Havock that the like had not been seen this Thousand Years in *France*. These Words can relate only to the raising the Siege of *Orleans*, and the Battle of *Patay*. But the first of these Actions has nothing in it extraordinary. That a Garrison should make a Sally and drive the Besiegers from their Posts, is a Thing too common to be reckoned a Miracle. As to the Battle of *Patay*, supposing *Joan* had commanded the *French* Army, which she did not, can that be said to be so mighty a Matter as to deserve to be expressed in the Terms she uses? The *English* were in all but six Thousand, and lost two Thousand five Hundred. That Defeat hardly bears any Proportion to those of the *French* at *Crecy*, *Poitiers*, *Azincourt*, the first of which was but a Hundred Years before the Time of the *Maid of Orleans*, and the last but thirteen or fourteen.

It is further remarkable, that in her Letter she speaks as if she were actually at the Head of the Armies of *France*, since she calls upon the King of *England* to return her the Keys of all the Towns in his Possession. And yet the Letter must have been writ whilst she was only upon the March with the Convoy designed for *Orleans*. In which Convoy, according to *Monstrelet*, she got leave as a sort of Favour to make one; so far, was she from being entrusted with the Command. I say nothing of her speaking to the King of *England* as if he was then a Man, though he was but about nine Years old, exhorting him not to persist obstinately in his

his Opinion, nor of her admonishing him to go out of *France*, though he was then in *England*, these Things may be passed over as being written in a *Prophetick* Stile, and taken as so many *Figures* of Speech. But she should at least have known the Names of those she addressed herself to, and not have called the Earl of *Suffolk*, *Poulet*, when his Name was *de la Pole*. To mistake the Name of Foreigners, may be easily excused in common Persons. But I do not know whether such a Fault is to be pardoned in one who pretended to speak in the Name and by the Authority of God. These and several other Reasons, which it would be too long to insist upon, induced me to believe that this Letter was written after the Event, by some Body that knew the *Maid of Orleans* had really writ to the King of *England*, or the Duke of *Bedford*, as we shall see presently.

Let us proceed now to the Tryal of *Joan of Arc* as we find it in *Pasquier*. I say to the Tryal, and not to the Sentiment of that Author who lived too long after her for his Testimony to be of any great Weight. It suffices to say with regard to him, that he every where speaks of her with great Commendations, and believed she was really inspired, and sent by God to save *France*. Here follows her *Examination* and *Answers*, which I shall abridge as much as possible, without rendering the Sense obscure.

In the first Place, being charged to speak the Truth, she replied, she would say what concerned her Father and Mother; but that she would not disclose the *Revelations* she had told King *Charles*, but that in eight Days she should know whether she might speak of them or no.

To the second Question concerning her Name and Family, she answered, that she was of the Village of *Dompne*, that in her own Country they called her *Jaenette*, but in *France*, *Jeanne d' Arc*. That her Father's Name was *James of Arc*, and her Mother's *Isabella*, &c.

That she was then about Twenty-nine Years old.

That she was by Trade a Seamstress and Spinster, and not a Shepherdess.

That she went every Year to *Confession*.

That

That she frequently heard a Voice from Heaven, and that in the Place where she heard the Voice, she saw also a Light which she took for an Angel. That the Voice had often warned her to go into *France*, and to cause the Siege of *Orleans* to be raised. That she should go to *Robert de Baudricourt* Captain of *Vaucouleurs*, who would give her a Guard to conduct her; which she did accordingly.

She added, that she knew very well that God loved the Duke of *Orleans*, and that she had had more *Revelations* about him than about any Person living except the King.

Item. She confessed she was engaged in a Skirmish before *Paris* on a *Holyday*; and being asked whether that was Right, she answered, *Go on.*

Being asked when she heard the Voice last, she replied, Yesterday, three Times, in the Morning at the Time of *Vespers*, and when the *Ave Maria* Bell rung in the Evening.

Being interrogated, whether she had ever seen any *Fairies*, she answered, *No*; but that one of her God-Mothers pretended to have seen some at the *Fairy-Tree* just by the Village of *Dompne*.

Being examined who they were that spoke to her, she answered, *St. Catharine* and *St. Margaret*, and that she had frequently seen and touched them since she was in Prison, and kissed the Ground on which they trod. Moreover, that she consulted them about her Answers.

She said further, that she had put on Man's Cloaths by the express Command of God, and that she was wounded in the Neck before *Orleans*.

Item. That before seven Years were over, the *English* should leave a greater Pledge than what they had left before *Orleans*, and should lose all they held in *France*

That they should sustain in *France* a much greater Loss than what they had already done, by means of a great Victory which the *French* should gain over them.

Being asked whether she bore any *Coat of Arms*, she answered, *No*, but only her Standard. That it was true the King had given her Brothers a *Coat of Arms*, namely,

In

In a Field Azure, two Flower-de-luces, Or, and a Crown in the Middle.

She added that her Father dreamt she would go with the Soldiers, and for that Reason kept her short, and said he had rather see her drowned.

Then they charged her with throwing herself headlong from the Tower in order to kill herself, whilst she was a Prisoner at *Beaurevoir*. She confessed the Fact, but said, her Design was not to kill herself, but to make her Escape.

Whilst her Process was in hand, she desired leave to hear *Mafs* and communicate at *Easter*. Which was granted her upon Condition she would put on Woman's Cloaths; but she chose rather to go without it, than hear *Mafs* at that rate.

She was taxed with suffering herself to be worshipped. But she replied, that if some People had kissed her Hand or Cloaths, it was not with her Consent.

After these Answers, there follow several others which give ground to believe that they were made to as many Interrogations, which *Pasquier* thought fit to pass over in Silence. Here they are all together.

That she had talked with *St. Catharine* and *St. Margaret* at the *Fairy-Tree*, and not with the *Fairies*, as she had been accused of. That she began at thirteen Years of Age to converse with these *Saints*.

That at twenty Years old, she hired herself at *Neufchatel* in *Lorrain*, to a Woman that kept an Inn called *La Rousse*, and there led the Beasts to Grass, and watered the Horses, and by that means learned to ride.

That whilst she was there, she had a Law-Suit about a Marriage, before the Official of *Thoul*, and carried her Cause.

That after serving five Years, she returned to her Father's House, and that in spite of him, she went to *Baudricourt*, who made no Account of her for the two first Months, but in the third, he gave her a Guard of twenty Knights, a Squire, and four Servants, to conduct her to *Chinon* where the King was.

The Judges having earnestly urged her to put on a Woman's Habit: She replied, she desired to have none of her Sex's Clothes, but a Shift after she was dead.

Whereupon she was told that she should not be received to Communion but in Woman's Clothes: but she refused to comply with that Condition. However, she consented at last to take a Woman's Habit to hear *Mass*, provided she should be allowed to put on Man's Clothes again. But as they refused to grant her that Favour upon that Condition, she declared she would rather die than wear the Habit of a Woman contrary to God's express Command.

She said likewise, that she had promised the King to raise the Siege of *Orleans*, and caused him to be crowned.

She was taxed with being always against a Peace; the which she owned, affirming there could be no Peace concluded, unless the *English* would leave *France*.

The Proctor having charged her with causing a Sword to be hid in St. *Catharine's* Church at *Fierbois*, and sending for the same Sword, after she had talked with the King, she denied that she had ever used any Frauds. She owned however that she had heard three *Masses* in that Church.

Upon her being accused of saying that she was sent from God to wage War, which was directly contrary to the Will of God, she answered, that in the Letter which she had sent to the King of *England* and the Princes of the Blood, she had first offered them Peace. *Pasquier* says, the Letter is copied in the Tryal. But as he thought not proper to transcribe it himself, one cannot be sure that it is the same *de Serres* has inserted in his History.

Upon being charged with putting to Death *Franquet d' Arras* her Prisoner, she replied that he was a Robber, known for such, and was condemned to die by the Bailiff of *Senlis*.

To the Charge of having several times *communicated* in Man's Clothes, and kneeled to the Voice which spoke to her: She confessed it all.

The Proctor accused her also of having seduced abundance of People to such a Degree, that several revered her as a *Saint*, caused Prayers to be said in the Church to

her Honour, maintained that next *the Holy Virgin* she was the greatest of Saints, and wore about them her Image in Lead or some other Metal. To this Charge she replied, that God should be the Judge.

Upon being accused of having usurped the Dominion over Men by making herself Head of the War, she answered, that she had done so to beat the *English*. And added, her Standard was of Linnen or Fustian, bordered with Velvet, with a *Field* seeded with Flower-de-Luces, and in the Middle the Image of God holding the World, supported by two Angels in white, and underneath *Jesus Maria*.

Whereupon her Judges upbraided her, that she was in the wrong to ascribe unto God such Vanities, contrary to the Reverence due to him; and asked her whether she put her Confidence in her Standard: to which she replied, she placed her Confidence only in him whose Image it bore.

After this, she was asked why she held alone her Standard at the Coronation of King *Charles*: She answer'd, that it was but just that he who had been in Trouble should be likewise in Glory.

She was told further, that being wounded before *Paris*, she had caused her Armour to be hung up in the Church of *St. Dennis*, out of Ostentation: She replied, she did it from a Motive of Piety, according to the Custom of those that are wounded in the Wars.

Lastly, She was asked if she would submit to the Judgment of the *Church-Militant*. She made answer, that she would, provided the Church did not enjoin her what was impracticable. That she could not in any wise revoke what she had said about her *Visions* and *Revelations*; and that if the Church affirmed they were Illusions or Fancies, in that case she would not refer the Matter to the Judgment of Men, but to God alone.

The Examination being ended, the Judges drew up a Summary of her Confessions. Containing,

I. That being Thirteen Years old, she saw *St. Michael*, *St. Catharine*, *St. Margaret*, and a great Company of Angels.

II. That

II. That these *Saints* advised her to go to King *Charles*, and to wear Man's Clothes.

III. That she chose rather to go without hearing *Masse* and communicating, than put on her Sex's Habit.

IV. That she refused to submit to the Judgment of the *Church-Militant*.

V. That she pretended to foretel future Contingencies.

VI. That she knew *Saints* by their Voices, whom she had never seen or heard before.

VII. That she was expressly commanded by God to wear Man's Clothes.

VIII. That she cast herself headlong from a Tower, chusing rather to die than to be in the Hands of her Enemies.

IX. That she not only saw and heard, but likewise touched bodily St. *Catharine*, and St. *Margaret*, and kissed the Ground on which they trod.

The *Proctor* having asked Advice upon these Articles, he was told by the Judges, that what *Joan of Arc* had done was all a Cheat, and the Invention of the Devil to deceive the poor People. That she was guilty of Disobedience to her Parents, and of Idolatry to the Dishonour of the Church; particularly, for having chosen rather to deprive herself of the *Body* of our Lord, than lay aside Man's Clothes. At this Sentence were present the Bishops of *Contance* and *Lisieux*, the *Chapter* of the Cathedral of *Roan*, Sixteen Doctors, Six *Licentiates*, or Batchellors of Divinity, and Eleven Advocates of *Roan*.

This Sentence being sent to the University of *Paris*, was confirmed there by the Body of *Divines*, and ratified by a *Decree*, and *Joan* pronounced *Heretick* and *Schismatick*. Which done, the University writ to the King and the Bishop of *Bayeux*, to desire she might be put to Death. It does not appear by what *Pasquier* says, what her Punishment was to be by this first Sentence. All that can be said of it is, that she was excommunicated at best. Nevertheless, *Joan* being carried into the Church, and placed on a Scaffold, was publicly *preached*, as they called

it in those Days. All these Preparations having struck her with a great Terror, she cried out aloud, that she would submit to the Judgment of God and the Pope. But finding what she had said was not sufficient to cause her Sentence to be revoked, but that they were proceeding to publish it, she declared, she would stand to what the *Church* should enjoin her: That since so many wise and learned Men affirmed that her *Visions* came not from God, she was willing to believe so too, which she repeated several times. Then she made a publick Abjuration, which was inserted in the Tryal; but *Pasquier* thought not fit to give us the Contents.

Upon her abjuring her Errors, another *Sentence* intervened, absolving her from the Bond of *Excommunication*, and condemning her to perpetual Imprisonment by way of *Penance*. After that, she put on Woman's Apparel. But as she had all along shewed great Obstinacy with regard to Man's Clothes which she wore, she said, by God's express Command they thought proper to try whether her Abjuration was sincere, by leaving with her in Prison a Man's Habit. This Expedient succeeded but too well to her Misfortune, since she was no sooner alone, but she put it on. On the Morrow, being found in that Dress, she was asked the Reason of it: to which she replied, That she had put on her former Habit by the express Order of St. *Catharine* and St. *Margaret*, and that she had rather obey God than Man. Whereupon, an Information was entered against her in the *Ecclesiastical Court*, and she was declared an *Heretick Relapse*, and delivered over to the Secular Power. *Pasquier* says nothing of the Confession she made according to the King of *England's* Letter, that she had been seduced by lying Spirits, who had promised to set her free. Indeed this Confession is directly contrary to the Inferences which *Pasquier* could draw from the Particulars of the Tryal, namely, that *Joan* was inspired by God. He only says she was sentenced to be burnt *May* the 31st, 1431. But as all the rest of the Facts mentioned in the King's Letter exactly agree with the Circumstances of the Process, I do not see why *Pasquier's* Silence should cause this to be called in question.

One

One might make numberless Reflections upon the Examination, Answers and Behaviour of *the Maid of Orleans*. But not to tire the Reader's Patience, I shall content myself with making a few Remarks.

In the first Place, it is certain *Pasquier's* View in what he has related of this Tryal, was to prove *Joan's* Inspiration. And therefore prejudiced as he was, he made no scruple to curtail in several Places the *Questions* and *Answers*. This manifestly appears, in that several of the Answers have no manner of Connexion with the Questions, nor with one another. For Instance, what she says in her Answer to the second Question, touching the Duke of *Orleans*, necessarily supposes some other Question, which *Pasquier* thought fit to omit.

2. It appears that he has passed over in Silence some of the Replies: For Example, it is said in the Summary of *Joan's* Confession, that she had boasted of seeing *St. Michael*, and yet there is no mention of any such thing in the Examination.

3. *Pasquier* would transcribe neither *Joan's* Letter to the King of *England* nor her Abjuration: Things of no less Importance however, than all he has produced upon that Subject. Much more unwilling was he to mention the Confession she made before she died, that she was seduced or deceived. These Omissions give occasion to presume, that *Pasquier* sought in *Joan's* Tryal not so much what might be of Service to him in discovering the Truth, as what he believed would help to prove his Opinion. And indeed, he uses abundance of Words to draw from *Joan's* Answers, Consequences favourable to his Notion, and to show that she foretold nothing but what came to pass, and said nothing but what was exactly true. He labours most of all to prove by very weak Arguments, that the Duke of *Orleans* was greatly beloved of God, as *the Maid* affirm'd. Among other Reasons he alledges this: That God had blessed that Prince with two Sons, who both were illustrious; the one Legitimate, who was afterwards King of *France*, by the Name of *Lewis XII*; the other Natural; namely, that great General, known at first by the Name of
the

the Bastard of Orleans, and afterwards by that of *Earl of Dunois* and *Longueville*. But all the World knows that this last was natural Brother and not Son of the Duke of *Orleans* mentioned by *Joan*. It is surprising that a Man so well versed as *Pasquier* in the History of *France*, should be guilty of so gross a Mistake.

Having related such Facts concerning the *Maid of Orleans* as cannot be denied, seeing they are backed by incontestable Testimonies, nothing more remains but to examine the three Opinions in this Matter, and to espouse one of them.

Most of the *French* Writers maintain, that *Joan* was really inspired and sent by God, and ground their Opinion upon these four principal Reasons. The First is the Possibility of the Thing, that God may if he pleases do such Miracles. But this Point may be granted them, and yet they not be able to draw any Inference from the Possibility of the Thing for the Truth of the Fact.

The Second is, *Joan's* own Evidence, grounded upon her Visions of *Saints* and *Angels*. But this is the very Thing in Question, and consequently cannot be urged as a Proof.

The third Reason is taken from her knowing King *Charles* in disguise among his Courtiers. This does not deserve Notice. Supposing, as a great many do, that *Joan* was perswaded to act this Part, it is easy to conceive that she might be very well informed how to know the King, though she had never seen him before.

The fourth is grounded upon her foretelling the raising of the Siege of *Orleans*, and the Coronation of the King, at a Time when there was not the least Shadow of any likelihood of these Things, and upon her Prediction coming to pass. This Reason added to the uncommon Valour which she showed on all Occasions, is doubtless, the strongest that can be alledged for this Opinion. Nevertheless the Objections which lye against this Argument are so weighty, that they very much weaken the Force of it, if not wholly destroy it.

First, It may be objected, that it is she herself who said in her *Examination*, and after the Event, that she had foretold to the King the raising of the Siege of *Orleans*, and his Coronation. We have seen above that *Monstrelet* does not make her speak so very plainly. He contents himself with making her say to the King in general Terms, *That she would exalt his Dominions, and drive his Enemies out of the Kingdom*; which however she did not perform, seeing the *English* were not chased out of *France* till above Twenty Years after her Death.

Moreover *Joan* says in her *Examination*, that these two Things were revealed to her by St. *Catharine* and St. *Margaret*. I do not mean to enter here upon all the Objections which may be made to this Matter. I am willing to suppose that God reveals sometimes to the glorified *Saints* what is to happen upon Earth; that he commands them to assume human Shape to inform certain Persons of the Future; and that *Catharine* and *Margaret* were of the Number of these glorified *Saints*, though no Body can affirm it with Certainty. But however it cannot be denied at least that God very rarely makes use of such Means, and that when he does so, it is always with a View to his own Glory or the Good of his *Church*, or for the sake of some Persons very eminent for their Holiness. Now in the War which was then waging in *France*, neither the Glory of God, nor the Honour of Religion, nor the Good of the *Church* were directly concerned; And *Charles VII*, for whose sake, upon the present Supposition, God did so great Things, was famous for any Thing sooner than a Holy Life. The Dispute between the two Kings was purely about temporal Concerns. They both professed the same Religion, and could not tax one another either with *Schism* or *Heresy*. One cannot see therefore wherein it could be for the Glory of God, or the Advantage of Religion or the *Church*, that the Realm of *France* should be governed by a Prince of the *House of Valois*, rather than by a King of *England*, descended by the Female Line from the Blood Royal of *France*. A Man may affirm as much as he pleases, that the *Usurpation* of the *English* was so heinous and manifest, that God's Honour

was

was concerned in making them an Example of his Justice. This is supposing a Thing in Question. One need only read what has been said upon this Point in the Reign of *Edward III*, to be satisfied that the Supposition is not so manifest as is pretended, and that it is liable to strong Objections. But though it were undeniable that the *English* were real Usurpers, can it be affirmed that it concerns God's Honour to punish in an exemplary and supernatural Manner the heinous Acts of Injustice committed in the World? How many Usurpations of Provinces and Kingdoms do we meet with in History, without any Miracle interposing to punish the Usurpers? In fine, we do not see that *Charles VII* or his Successors did Religion so great Service as for the sake of that God may be presumed to do what was done by the Means of *Joan of Arc*. Besides the *French* in those Days were no better Christians, nor honest Men than the *English*. As for the Person of King *Charles VII*, in whose behalf it is pretended that God miraculously raised up the *Maid of Orleans*, no Body is ignorant that he led a most irregular Life. To say nothing of the Murder of the Duke of *Burgundy*, committed by his Order and in his Presence, contrary to the Faith of a Treaty ratified with an Oath, is it not certain that at the very Time *Joan* came to him at *Chignon*, he lived in open Adultery with *Agnes Sorel*, in the Eyes of his whole Court? Are they such kind of Princes whom God usually honours in a particular manner? If to all these Reasons is added *Joan's* Confession before her Death, that she was deceived, there will be ground to be satisfied that she was not inspired. But I insist not on her Confession, because it is a disputable Point, since it is grounded only upon the Testimony of her Adversaries.

I come now to the Opinion of the *English*, who stiffly maintain, that *Joan of Arc* was a *Witch*, and acted only by the Instigation of the Devil. I shall only observe in a Word, that this Opinion is liable to the very same Objections as the foregoing one, since it is full as hard to conceive, why upon this Occasion God should have given such Power to the Devil. So that all that has been said concerning her

her *Inspiration*, is applicable to her *Witchcraft*, and may be retorted upon the *English*.

But there is a Third Opinion which is not liable to so many Difficulties. If we suppose, that in the Extremity King *Charles* was in, he himself, his Queen, *Agnes Sorel*, or some one of his *Ministers*, invented this Contrivance, nothing will be more easy than to reconcile the Events with such a Supposition. The Business was to revive the Courage of the *French*, disheartened by so many Losses, and it may be of the King himself, who was thinking of retreating into *Dauphiné*. Is it to be wondered at, that such an Artifice should be made use of to that Purpose? This is at least as possible as the Apparitions of *Saints*, or as *Witchcraft*. They may have pitched upon a Country Girl of good Sense, as some such there are, of an undaunted Courage, and who knew how to ride on Horseback. They may have chosen one out of the Kingdom that she might be the less known, and that impertinent Neighbours might not obstruct the Execution of this Project, by letting the World know what she was. Supposing the Case to be thus, it will be very easy to account for most of the Things which appear uncommon in the *Maid of Orleans*. All that the King said of her, and the Secrets which she told him, will be only carrying on the Cheat. Those that were in the Plot would not fail to extol her, and the rest would suffer themselves to be drawn in by their Authority.

It must not however be concealed that strong Objections may be made against this third Opinion, which it will be proper to answer.

The First is, that it is only Conjecture. I own it. But then it is a very natural Conjecture in a Matter wherein it is so hard to discover the Truth. The *French* say that she was inspired by God. It is made appear that this Notion is full of Difficulties, and that they who espouse it have not Probability on their Side. The *English* affirm she was a *Witch*, and an Instrument of the Devil. This is no less hard to conceive. It is however certain that she performed great Actions. What remains therefore in order to unfold the Cause of the Revolution which happened in *France*, but to

have recourse to natural Means, since the supernatural ones are so doubtful, not to say worse? In my Opinion, if ever Conjecture is to take Place, it ought to do so in the present Case.

The second Objection is taken from *Joan's* uncommon Valour, which they would fain have pass for supernatural. To this it may be answered, that it is certain a great deal more is ascribed to her than she deserved, as appears by the Testimony of *Monstrelet* a cotemporary Writer. A Man must needs be very ignorant of the way of the World not to know to what immoderate Lengths one is apt to go on the like Occasions, and how capable such a Subject is of Imbellishment. It does not appear by what *Monstrelet* says, that *Joan* ever commanded in Chief. If he seems to say it in one Place, he corrects himself in another, as may be seen in the Passages above cited. It is true, the Generals carried her along with them, and placed her at their Head, on purpose to confirm the Prepossession of the Soldiers. So that she needed only to show Resolution enough to keep always near them, and such a Resolution cannot be accounted miraculous. As for their ascribing to her the Honour of all the Successes, there is nothing very strange in that. It was no more than what the Interest of the King and of those that served him required.

The third Objection is the strongest, grounded upon the fulfilling of *Joan's* Predictions. She told the King, she would cause the Siege of *Orleans* to be raised, and himself to be crowned; which fell out accordingly. One must therefore, in supposing that it was only a Contrivance, suppose at the same Time that she had the Gift of Prophecy.

To this Objection it may be replied in the first Place, that the Assurances wherewith the *French* Historians have asserted that her Predictions were before the Event, is what gives it the greatest Weight. But it must be observed that of the two Articles, namely, the raising of the Siege of *Orleans*, and the Coronation of the King at *Rheims*, the First only is attested by *Joan* herself in her Examination, without any mention of the King's Coronation. And further, this very Attestation comes after the Event; neither is there
any

any good Proof to be had that when she came to the King, she gave him Assurance that she would cause the Siege of *Orleans* to be raised. As *Monstrelet* relates the Case, it does not appear that *Charles* relied upon her Promises, when he undertook to send a *Convoy* to *Orleans*. *Monstrelet* says, that he was resolved to send a *Convoy* to that City, and that *Joan* desired to be one of the Company, which was granted her. Surely if that Design had been formed merely upon her Promises, she would have had no need to desire to be present at the executing it, since in that Case she would have been the chief Manager.

But in the second Place, supposing *Joan* had foretold what is attributed to her, I do not know whether that would be a convincing Proof. Upon Supposition that she was persuaded to act this Part, and that she had her Lesson given her beforehand, nothing was more natural than to make her tell the King she was commissioned to raise the Siege of *Orleans*. This Siege was then the Cause of great Uneasiness to the King and the whole Court. They did not know what Course to take to save that important Place, and consequently there was a Necessity of giving hopes of raising the Siege, in order to make it believed that *Joan* was sent from God. In so doing nothing was hazarded but the Reputation of a poor Country Girl, of which no great Account would have been made, in case the Business had miscarried. As to the King's Coronation, there was occasion also to put him in hopes of it, since the raising of the Siege was but a Means to attain the chief End, which was to place the King on the Throne of his Ancestors.

In the third Place, to *Joan's* Predictions a very puzzling Objection may be made. If she was inspired by God to foretel the Future, whence came it to pass that she was mistaken? She said that she would drive the *English* out of the Kingdom, and yet they were not driven out till above Twenty Years after her Death. She foretold that they would be expelled by a great Victory which the *French* should get over them. This gives the Notion of a very bloody Battle, and of an uncommon Victory. But where do we find any such Thing after the Death of *Joan of Arc*?

There is none but the Battle of *Fourmigni*, which happened twenty Years after, and was of very little Consequence, as has been observed. She foretold likewise in her Examination, that before seven Years were at an end, the *English* should leave a greater Pledge than what they had left before *Orleans*. I do not know what that Expression means, unless it signifies the Loss of some Battle. But there was no Battle within that Space of Time. Let us however give these Words the most favourable Sense they are capable of: Let us understand them, if you please, of the Loss of *Paris*. But this Event happened five Years after the Prediction. Is it usual for the *Holy Ghost* to mark out thus the Space of seven Years instead of five? Was it not full as easy for him to foresee that this Event would come to pass in five Years as in seven?

Wherefore, all things considered, let a Man compare the Difficulties of the Third Opinion with those that arise from the *Apparitions* of *Saints* and *Witchcraft*, and I am persuaded he will find the Third Opinion the most probable of the Three.

Besides, the Inspiration of the *Maid of Orleans* was not so generally owned by the *French* themselves, but that several questioned it. The Constable *Richmond* being upon the March to join the King before *Baugenci*, the King prepossessed that he was coming with some ill Design, resolved at first to go and fight him. But altering his mind, he sent *Joan* to meet and receive him. As soon as she saw him, she alighted from her Horse, and embraced his Knee: Whereupon the Constable said these Words to her, which plainly show what he thought of her: *Joan, I am told that you have a mind to fight me. I neither know who you are, nor by whom you are sent here; whether by God or by the Devil: If you come from God, I have no reason to fear you, for he knows my Intention as well as yours; If you are from the Devil, I have less Reason to be afraid, and therefore do your best or your worst.*

The Lord of *Langey* in his Treatise of *Military Institution*, says, that *Joan's Inspiration* was of the same Nature with

with *Numa's* pretended Conversations with the Nymph *Egeria*.

Others have affirmed, that she was persuaded to play this Part by the Lords of the Court. *Du Haillan* was of this Opinion, who even relates several Circumstances in Confirmation of it. After which he adds, *Some have taken it ill that I say this, and put the French out of Conceit with so holy and miraculous a Thing, by endeavouring to make it all a Fable. But I was willing to do so, because Time, which discovers all Things, has discovered this to be a Cheat.* Besides, it is not a Matter of that Moment as that it ought to be believed as an *Article of Faith*.

Pope *Pius II*, under the Name of *Gobelin* his Secretary, having given us the Story of *Joan* and her Exploits, adds, *It is a very difficult Thing to affirm whether this was the Work of God, or the Invention of Man. Some think that the great Men at Court being at variance about the Command, some one more wise than the rest found out this Contrivance, and prevailed with Joan to give out that she was sent from God, to the End no one might scruple to serve under her.*

In fine, there are *French* Writers who have defamed *Joan of Arc*, and said, that she was corrupted by *Baudricourt*, or according to others by the Bastard of Orleans, or by *Xaintrailles*, and that these three Lords, together with the Duke of *Alençon*, hatched the whole Plot. *Polydore Virgil* says, that when *Joan* found she was condemned, she pretended to be with Child, and for that Reason her Execution was put off for some Months. In a word, among all the Historians antient and modern, who have spoken of the *Maid of Orleans*, there are not Two who agree in the Facts relating to her.

As to the rest, supposing *Joan's* Inspiration was a pure Invention, it is not easy to determine whether the King was in the Secret, or whether he was himself cheated. It may be *Joan* herself was deceived, by certain Ways and Means which have but too often been practised. For my Part, I think this Opinion very plausible, considering the firm Resolution and Courage with which she answered her Judges, when she could not but perceive the extreme Dan-

ger

ger she was in. But after all, this is nothing but Conjecture.

I conclude from the Examination I have made, that a Man may reasonably suppose that *Joan's* pretended Inspiration was all a Contrivance to revive the Courage of the dismayed *Frenchmen*. It is true, the Project succeeded without doubt beyond the Expectation of the Contrivers. Nevertheless, it is not very strange that the *French* Troops should take Heart again, when they imagined they were fighting under the particular Direction of Heaven. This is not the first Time that the like Invention has produced the like Effect. We meet with Instances of it in the Histories of Heathen Nations. The feigned *Apparitions* of the *Pagan* Gods and Goddesses, were not surely the immediate Works of the Power of God, and yet upon certain Occasions they produced prodigious Effects.

Before I conclude this Subject, I cannot help reflecting on the barbarous Usage *Joan* met with. It is not possible to colour it any way. As *Joan* was not a Native of *France*, *Henry* could not pretend she was his Subject, and consequently he could use her but as a mere Prisoner of War. Upon this Supposition, he could much less punish her for a *Schismatick*, *Heretick* or *Witch*, even though she had been convicted. If the Rule which the *English* would then have established was once received, there would be no Prisoner of War but what would be in danger of being condemned by his Enemies for forged Crimes, and of falling a Sacrifice to their Malice. *Charles VII.* got the Sentence to be revers'd by other Judges, and *Joan's* Honour to be repaired. And upon this several go in order to prove her Innocence. But this is a weak Foundation, since, without strong Prejudice, a Man cannot depend upon the last Sentence any more than upon the first. The former was passed by her Enemies, whose Interest it was to defame her? and the latter by her Friends, to whose Glory and Advantage it turned to make her appear Innocent.

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